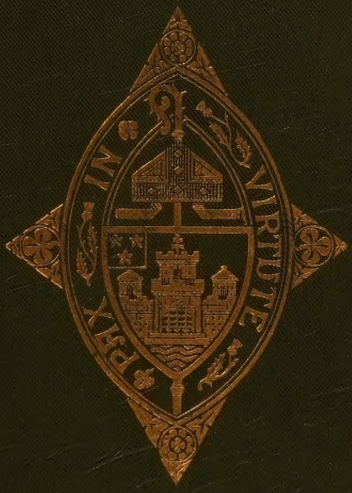
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HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

"The decay of morals among the clergy, and the laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, did not, it is true, justify the religious revolution of the sixteenth century; for the existence of a lesser and passing evil does not authorise the perpetration of a great and lasting wrong; nor does a man, because weeds are growing in his garden, proceed to lay it waste and so root up weeds and flowers together. Nevertheless, the abuses in the Church did afford a pretext and a palliation for the work of the Reformers, and, moreover, gained them many adherents, who would not otherwise have espoused their cause. God permitted that cause to succeed, as a terrible warning that He will not continue His favour and protection to those who neglect the duty of personal holiness."

"Abuses, so far as the Catholic religion is concerned, are not objective, but subjective."—*Letters and Journals of Joseph von Hohenzollern, Prince-Bishop of Ermland.* Edited by Dr Hipler, 1883 (p. 547).

"Ye holy walls, that, still sublime,
Resist the crumbling touch of time,
How strongly still your form displays
The piety of ancient days!"

—BURNS.

MAP
ILLUSTRATING
STATE OF CHURCH
IN 1550
BISHOP'S SEES
RELIGIOUS HOUSES
NUNNERIES
DIOCESES INDICATED BY COLOUR
DEANERIES
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HISTORY

OF THE

Catholic Church of Scotland

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D.

CANON OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS,

BY

D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B.

MONK OF FORT AUGUSTUS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1560 TO THE DEATH OF
JAMES THE SIXTH, A.D. 1560–1625

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXXIX

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting to the public the penultimate volume of the *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, the translator desires to express his sense of the kindliness with which non-Catholic critics have received the English edition of a work which, he is well aware, is little more than an attempt to give the outlines of its great subject. In an ecclesiastical history of any country (much more, one so religiously divided as Scotland), there must necessarily be a certain amount of contentious matter, and much that cannot meet with universal approbation; and the translator feels therefore the more bound to acknowledge the frank recognition of the effort which has been made in these pages to present a true picture of Catholic Scotland.

The present volume embraces a period of only sixty-five years, which, however, it is needless to point out, include some of the most momentous events both in the civil and religious history of our

country. The translator believes that his readers will thank him for calling their attention to the interesting report (contained in Appendix VIII.) of the religious state of Scotland, sent to the Holy See in 1596, some thirty years subsequent to the consummation of the work of the Reformers. It is well known, of course, that two views long prevailed as to the best method of endeavouring to win back these countries to Catholic unity The long and detailed report of Mgr Malvasia (which it has been thought best to give in an English rendering, rather than in the crabbed and often obscure Italian original) affords exceedingly interesting particulars of the policy which it was the wish of the more moderate, or what may be termed the peace party, to adopt, especially with reference to the anxiously-hoped-for conversion of King James; and it also throws some curious side-lights on the general religious position, both in Scotland and England, at that time. The hopes expressed so confidently proved, indeed, fallacious; but that fact rather enhances than detracts from the interest which attaches to them, and to the schemes of which they were the fruitful parent.

One word more. It is recorded of a certain mayor of the venerable city of Oxford, that on the occasion of his retirement from his dignified office, he delivered himself to the following effect: "It is a pride and satisfaction to me, on looking back through the past twelve months, to feel that I have discharged my onerous duties neither, on the one

hand, with partiality, nor, on the other, with impartiality!" The translator has, it is needless to say, no wish to prefer so unique a claim, either for himself or for his author, to the confidence of their readers. He ventures, however, to observe that, while it would be unreasonable to expect of an honest Catholic historian that kind of impartiality which springs from indifferentism and the absence of any settled religious convictions, it is at the same time not only a possibility but a duty for him to endeavour to steer clear of such bias as would result in his misrepresenting either the motives or the actions of the persons with whom he has to deal. Such impartiality as this it has been the endeavour of the author of these pages to exercise in the difficult and often delicate subjects of which he treats; and it is gratifying to feel that he is generally allowed to have presented a candid and trustworthy picture of the religious history of Scotland to the eyes of his readers.

OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B.

St Benedict's Abbey,
Fort Augustus, N.B., *October* 1889.

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OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND FROM AUGUST 1560 UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR 1562.

The Confession of Faith.

THE self-constituted Parliament of August 1560 had suppressed by law the Catholic Church of Scotland, and duly recognised the Reformed doctrines as the religion of the State. In obedience to the mandate of Parliament, the Protestants had given expression to their religious views in two official documents. The first of these was the *Confession of Faith*, drawn up according to the system of Calvin, and consisting of twenty-five chapters. These set forth the belief in God and the Holy Trinity, and treat of the creation and fall of man, the promise of a Saviour, Christ as mediator, free-will, justification by faith,

sanctification, adoption, and a number of other matters. The Calvinistic leanings of the Confession are shown by its definition of the Church as a company of men, chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ: Catholic, as containing the elect of all ages, but invisible, for God alone knows those whom He has chosen. The notes of the Church are declared to be,—first, the true preaching of the Word; secondly, the rightful administration of the sacraments; thirdly, proper ecclesiastical discipline. In controversies as to the meaning of any part of Scripture, regard must be had not so much to what men have said or done as to what the Holy Ghost Himself teaches in Scripture, and what Christ did and commanded to be done. The decrees of general councils are not to be received without due examination; for such councils were summoned, not to make new articles of faith or to lay down perpetual laws, but for the refutation of heresies and maintenance of matters of Church discipline, which, like the ordering of ceremonies, can only be for certain times and places; for if such customs give occasion for superstition, they may and should be abolished or altered.

In its teaching on the sacraments (which are limited to two), the Confession strenuously denies the doctrine that they are nothing but mere outward signs, affirming that by baptism we are ingrafted into Christ, while in the Communion

He becomes the nourishment and food of our souls. Infant baptism is retained. The sacraments must be dispensed by lawful ministers, which is explained to mean those who are appointed to preach the Word, or into whose mouths God has put some sermon of exhortation. With regard to the civil authority, it is declared to be of divine ordinance. Those placed in authority are to be duly loved, honoured, and feared, as being God's vicegerents, on whom (it is significantly added) is incumbent the duty of the reformation and purgation of religion.[1]

Compilers of the Confession.

The compilation of the Confession was intrusted to six persons, one of whom we have already seen in connection with the reforms projected within the pale of the ancient Church. This was Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, who is believed to have taken considerable part in drawing up the Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton eight years previously. He was assisted in compiling the Confession by Knox, Spottiswood, Willock, Row, and Douglas (rector of St Andrews University); and he was also, in conjunction with Maitland of Lethington, charged with its final revision before publication. It was doubtless owing to Winram's influence that the tone of

[1] Knox, *Historie of the Reformation*, p. 271. The text of the Confession is given in full, pp. 252-272. See Hodge, *A Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, ed. Goold (1870). Dr Munro, in his *Calvinism in its Relations to Scripture and Reason* (Glasgow, 1856), has given a solid criticism of the system from a Catholic standpoint.

the document was less violent in regard to the ancient faith than it would otherwise have been; and, in particular, that the chapter on the civil magistrate was drawn up, as Mr Grub observes, "in language that gives no encouragement to the political theories of the school of Knox and Goodman."[1]

The Book of Discipline.

The Confession of Faith was shortly followed by the publication of a book treating of the discipline which it was proposed to establish. A draft of the work had already been prepared, before the meeting of Parliament, and it was now completed and revised by the same persons who had drawn up the Confession. In January 1561, it was submitted for the consideration of a convention of the nobility, some of whom highly approved of it, while others, including those who had most largely profited by the spoliation of the Church, as strenuously opposed it, calling it in mockery a "devout imagination."[2] It was nevertheless supported by a majority of the more influential members of the party, and was subscribed on the 27th of January by the Duke of Chatelherault, his son the Earl of Arran, the Earl Marischal, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Menteith, Morton, and Rothes, Lords Yester, Boyd, Ochiltree, and Lindsay, the Bishop-designate

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 91.

[2] Knox, *Historie*, p. 276. Keith, *Affairs of Church and State*, p. 496. Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 371.

of Galloway, Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, the Commendator of Culross, and others. They added to their subscriptions a stipulation that those bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates who had joined the Congregation should enjoy their revenues during life, while providing for the support of the Reformed ministers.[1]

Necessity of preaching.

The Book of Discipline is divided into nine heads. The first of these sets forth the necessity of the preaching of the Gospel, by which is to be understood the Old Testament as well as the New. All laws or counsels imposed on men without the express command of God's Word, among which are included religious vows, fasting-days, prayers for the dead, and the observance of holy days, such as Christmas, Epiphany, and the Purification, and the festivals of apostles, martyrs, and virgins, are to be utterly suppressed.

The Sacraments.

The second head treats of the Sacraments, which are declared to be only two in number, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. For baptism, water alone, without any addition, is to be used; while for the reception of the other sacrament, sitting at table is laid down as the "most convenient" attitude, since it was that adopted by our Lord and His disciples.[2] The denial of the chalice to the laity is condemned as a Popish abuse.

[1] Knox, *loc. cit.* Keith, *ibid.*

[2] It is hardly necessary to point out that the Reformers, in their anxiety to show their contempt for Christian tradition, only suc-

Suppression of "idolatry."

The third head is aimed directly against the ancient Church. It requires the "utter suppression of idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, chapels, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, and colleges."[1] Parish churches and schools only are excepted, as are also the dwelling-houses of the clergy, with their gardens and orchards.

Appointment of ministers.

The democratic constitution of the Reformed Church is clearly manifested in the fourth head, which treats of the appointment of ministers. No one, it is declared, ought to preach or administer the sacraments unless "called orderly" to the same; and this calling or vocation consists of election, examination, and admission. The people are to elect their own minister, and he is to be examined by ministers and elders. It is expressly laid down that no other ceremony of ordination is requisite or permissible,—"for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary." Where ministers cannot be had, men are to be appointed

ceeded here in displaying their own ignorance. *Sitting*, at all events, was not the attitude of our Lord and His apostles at the Last Supper.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] It is difficult to reconcile the sweeping plainness of this provision with the assertion so frequently made in the present day, that the leaders of the Reformation were not responsible for the wholesale destruction of the material monuments of Catholic piety. —TRANSLATOR.

to read the Common Prayers and Scriptures to the people.

Provision is made in the fifth head for the support of the ministry, and also for popular education. No fixed stipends are assigned to the ministers, who are, however, to receive payment, in money and in kind, in proportion to their circumstances, according to whether they are "burdened with wife and children" or no, or are resident in one place or in the habit of travelling about. The Readers are to receive smaller stipends, which are to be increased in the case of those who are capable of "exhorting and explaining" as well as of reading. For the Superintendents is suggested a stipend of five hundred marks each, with beer and meal, and oats for their horses. The appointment of these last-named officials, whose duty was to "travel from place to place for establishing of the Church," was necessitated by the fact (which must not be forgotten) that the bulk of Scotland was still Catholic, and that strenuous efforts were necessary to overcome the opposition of the people to the new doctrines, and to clear the way for the gospel of reform. The superintendents are specially warned that they must not remain in one place above three or four months, that they must preach thrice a-week at least, and "not rest till the churches be wholly planted and provided of ministers." Each was placed over a special dis-

Support of the ministry.

Superintendents.

trict or "diocese." These were ten in number—namely, Orkney, Ross, Argyle, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Lothian, Jedburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries. In the same head it is ordered that there is to be a schoolmaster attached to each parish, while colleges for higher studies are to be established in the chief towns, the residences of the superintendents; and the three national universities are to be continued as heretofore.

Other heads of the Book of Discipline.

The four remaining heads of the Book of Discipline treat of the administration of Church property, ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, the election of elders, and the "two sorts of Church policy"—the one absolutely necessary, as the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments; the other profitable, but not strictly necessary, as the singing of Psalms and reading of Scripture, and the question as to how often in the week there should be preaching—which matters may be differently regulated by each church according to circumstances.

The Lord's Supper is not to be celebrated oftener than four times a-year, special care being taken to avoid all superstition about particular times, such as Easter and the like. Marriages are to be solemnised publicly, after proclamation of banns, and generally on Sunday, before the sermon. Marriage may be dissolved, but only on the ground of adultery, and the guilty party ought to be put to death. It is ordered that

at burials there be no singing, reading prayers for the dead, sermons, or ceremonies—all which things, it is declared, do nourish superstition. In towns, where there are schools and learned men, one day in the week is to be set apart for the exercise of *prophesying*, or interpretation of the Scriptures.

The Book of Discipline concludes with a bitter invective against the clergy of the ancient Church. "The papistical priests," it declares, "have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ, because in their mouths God hath not put the word of exhortation; and it is not the shaving of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs called the bishops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true ministers, but the Spirit of God moving the heart."[1]

The Reformed Service-Book.

Reference is made in various passages of the Book of Discipline to the Service-book at this time in use among the Reformed congregations, and known as the Order of Geneva. In the early

[1] Spottiswood (*History*, vol. i. pp. 331-371) gives the different heads of the Book of Discipline *in extenso*. The Parliament had already (August 23, 1560) declared the Catholic clergy to be nothing but "usurped ministers," and the new preachers alone to have the power to administer the sacraments. "By this Act," observes Bishop Keith (*Affairs*, p. 150, *note*), "one sees that the Reformers had no notion of a regular succession being necessary for the vocation of ordinary office-bearers in the Church of Christ. That the then clergy had a regular and valid ordination, no one can doubt; and how can they, then, be looked upon as *usurped ministers?*"

days of the Reformation, the English Book of Common Prayer had been adopted by the Scottish Protestants; but when their ascendancy was secured by the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, the Order of Geneva was naturally preferred, as more in harmony with the opinions of the leaders of the Congregation. It was probably the compilation of Knox himself, and had been in use among the English Protestants of Geneva when he was their minister. The influence, indeed, of Calvin and his system is seen throughout the Book of Discipline, just as it is in the Confession of Faith. The peculiar tenets of the Reformer of Geneva on the subject of predestination are expressed in unequivocal language, as well as his doctrine that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper truly nourishes the soul, and is not a mere outward sign without any interior signification.[1] The views put forth by the Book of Discipline on the constitution of the Church are, as we have seen, of the most democratic kind. All ecclesiastical authority proceeds from the people, and not by virtue of any divine commission to the apostles and their successors. In the form of worship adopted by the Scottish Reformers, the ancient

Influence of Calvin.

[1] This latter was the teaching of Zwinglius, between whose doctrine and that of Luther Calvin's held a middle place. It must, however, be borne in mind that, according to Calvin, the grace of the sacrament was conveyed only into the souls of the *elect;* to all others it was a mere empty and inoperative symbol. See Möhler, *Symbolism*, Bk. I. c. 4. § xxxi.—TRANSLATOR.

liturgical observances were entirely renounced. All the seasons of the ecclesiastical year—even the great festival of Easter — were altogether swept away. Sunday alone retained its place as a day of religious obligation; but in course of time that ancient and venerable name was wellnigh to disappear, and to be superseded by the Jewish designation of the Sabbath, by which the day is still almost universally known in Scotland. Finally, although the functions of the episcopate seemed, externally at least, to be perpetuated in the newly appointed superintendents of the Protestant Church,[1] the existence of these officials was, in truth, an anomaly in the system, and only proved that brand-new theories of ecclesiastical government, as of other matters, cannot always be reduced effectually to practice.

Meeting of the first General Assembly, December 1560.

On the 20th of December 1560, the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church met in Edinburgh. It consisted chiefly of laymen: Erskine alone of the superintendents was present, together with six ministers, of whom Knox and Row were the most prominent. Two resolutions were passed on the second day of the Assembly—the first of which ordered that the parishioners of Restalrig should in future repair to the parish church of Leith, and that Restalrig

[1] It must be remembered, however, that the superintendents had no power of ordaining others, and were themselves liable to be deposed by the people.—TRANSLATOR.

church should be utterly destroyed "as a monument of idolatry." No reason was assigned for this wanton act; but Restalrig (which was a collegiate church) may have been singled out for demolition, as Mr Grub suggests,[1] on account of the well-known zeal of its provost, John Sinclair, in defence of the ancient faith. The second resolution was directed against the regulations of the canon law regarding marriages contracted within the forbidden degrees. The impediments of consanguinity and affinity within the second, third, and fourth degrees, as well as all others not expressly set forth in Scripture, were declared to be abolished. The assertion that this decree, combined with the sanction of divorce contained in the Book of Discipline, were steps towards increased domestic purity in the country, is one that has been frequently made, but of which we have failed to find the slightest proof.[2]

Petition to Parliament against Catholics.

A measure adopted by the Assembly on the 27th of December shows what severe means were deemed necessary in order to wean the people from their adherence to the old religion. It was resolved to petition Parliament and the Privy Council that "sharp punishment" might be inflicted on certain idolaters who continued to say mass, or to be present thereat, in various parts

[1] *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 100.

[2] Judging by the statistics of illegitimacy in Protestant Scotland of to-day, it would appear that the proof lies rather the other way. We shall have occasion to recur to this matter later.—TRANSLATOR.

of the country. The districts specified are Nithsdale, Galloway, Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, Ettrick Forest, East Lothian, and Fife; and among the obnoxious individuals mentioned were the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis,[1] Abbot Kennedy of Crossraguel, and the Prior of Whithorn.[2] The Act of the Assembly also makes special mention of the parishioners of Maybole, Girvan, Kirkoswald, and Dailly (all in Ayrshire), "within the kirks wherof messe is openly said and maintained."[3]

Disputation held in Edinburgh (January 1561).

In January 1561, Edinburgh was the scene of a theological disputation. The convention of the nobles which met in that month, and to which, as already mentioned, the Book of Discipline was presented, summoned before them a number of Catholic ecclesiastics to give an account of their faith. Among these are mentioned four from the diocese of Aberdeen: Alexander Anderson, Principal of King's College; John Leslie, official of the diocese; Patrick Myrten, treasurer; and James Strachan, canon. Two accounts have came down to us of the result of the disputation. According to Bishop Leslie,[4]

[1] Gilbert, 4th Earl, who had succeeded his father in 1558, and was a zealous adherent of Queen Mary and the Catholic faith. —TRANSLATOR.

[2] This was Malcolm—the same who in 1546 had applied for and obtained an exemption from taxation on account of the evil times. *Reg. Priv. Counc.* (Scotl.), vol. i. p. 22.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Booke of the Universall Kirke of Scotland*, part i. p. 5.

[4] *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum* (ed. 1675), p. 530.

Anderson replied to the objections of Knox, Willock, and Goodman with such learning and consistency, that the Catholics were confirmed and the heretics utterly confounded. Knox,[1] on the other hand, asserts that Anderson altogether denied the propitiatory nature of the sacrifice of the Mass, and that Leslie refused to take any part in the discussion. "Mr Knox's Narration," observes Keith, "can by no means be reckoned genuine. He represents Mr Leslie in particular as a complete Dunce and Ignorant, tho' that Gentleman appears to have been by many degrees superior to himself; and his impertinent and satyrical Reflexions on this as well as on many other Heads, seem deservedly to make Bishop Leslie say concerning him, that he had an unbridled Licentiousness in speaking, mixed with a virulent Fluency of Words."[2] It is not surprising to find that in Scotland, as on the Continent, the result of these disputes on matters which the tribunal of the Church alone was competent to decide, was generally null.

Fresh legislation against the Catholics (May 1561).

The leaders of the Reformation were by no means satisfied with the position to which they had reduced the Catholic Church by the enactments of the Parliament of 1560. It seemed to be their aim that before the return of the queen to Scotland every outward trace of the existence

[1] *Historie of the Reformation*, pp. 282, 283.
[2] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 500.

of the ancient faith should be, if possible, rooted out of the land. On May 27, 1561, a second meeting of the General Assembly took place at Edinburgh, and a petition was adopted, to be presented to the Privy Council and the three Estates, setting forth that the "Generation of Antichrist were erecting their idolatry anew," and threatening that unless active measures were taken to suppress idolatry, and to punish according to law those that favoured it, they would be compelled to take the sword again into their own hands.[1] These representations were not ineffectual; and an Act was accordingly passed by the convention, ordering the demolition of such monasteries and abbey churches as had hitherto escaped destruction. The execution of the work was intrusted to Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, in the north, and to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn in the west. The noble church of Paisley Abbey was burned, its commendator, Archbishop Hamilton, narrowly escaping with his life; and Kilwinning, Failford, and Crossraguel were wholly or partially demolished. "Thus," cries Knox in exultation, "God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon Him, that all the World might see His potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies."[2] Archbishop Spottiswood,

Destruction of the remaining religious houses.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 502. Knox, *Historie*, p. 292.
[2] Knox, *Historie*, p. 294.

writing some eighty years after the events he describes,[1] depicts the melancholy scene in vivid language. "Thereupon," he says, "ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church and *bibliothèques* were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate the people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out 'that the places where idols had been worshipped ought by the law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable.' . . . The report also went that John Knox (whose sayings

[1] His Epistle dedicatory to Charles I. is dated 1639, although the first edition of the History did not appear until 1655, sixteen years after the author's death.—TRANSLATOR.

were by many esteemed as oracles) should in one of his sermons say 'that the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests.' . . . But popular fury once armed can keep no measure, nor do anything with advice and judgment."[1] A few districts in the northern part of the kingdom, where a certain number of the noble families still adhered to the ancient faith, were all that escaped the universal flood of destruction.

Attitude of the opposing parties towards Queen Mary.

Before continuing our narrative of the events that now took place in Scotland, it will be well at this point to cast a glance at the attitude adopted by the opposing parties in the State towards their legitimate sovereign. Mary Stuart had been married on April 24, 1558, to Francis, Dauphin of France,[2] and by the death of Henry II., in July of the following year, had become Queen of France as well as of Scotland. Nor was she without claim to entitle herself Queen of England likewise; for Elizabeth, who, as daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, had ascended the English throne in November 1558, had at least in the eyes of the Church no lawful right to the crown, which would therefore, on the death of Mary Tudor, have devolved upon Mary Stuart,

[1] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

[2] Teulet, vol. i. p. 292.—Cérémonies du mariage du Mgr. le Dauphin avec la Royne d'Écosse dans l'Eglise de N.D. de Paris. The marriage-contract is given by Keith (*Affairs*, Appendix, pp. 15-18).

as grand-daughter of the sister of Henry VIII. Mary's tenure of the crown of France was but a brief one. Francis II. died in December 1560, in his seventeenth year; and the youthful queen-dowager soon felt that the French Court, under the sway of the cold and unfriendly Catherine de Medicis, was no longer a home for her. The time had come for her to return to her northern home, and to assume the personal government of her hereditary dominions.

Embassy to France.

Immediately on the dissolution of the so-called Parliament of August 1560, and some months, therefore, before the death of Francis II., Sir James Sandilands, Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, had been despatched to France, in order to notify to the King and Queen of Scots the events that had taken place in Scotland. The envoy was received by the royal pair with cold civility, but was unsuccessful in obtaining the object of his mission—namely, the ratification by the king and queen of the Treaty of Edinburgh. Francis and Mary could not but be mortified by the knowledge that the views and wishes of Elizabeth had far more weight with the Scottish Parliament than those of its own sovereigns; and this feeling was expressed by the words of the Cardinal of Lorraine to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, soon after the arrival of Sandilands. "I will tell you frankly," he said, "the Scots, the king's subjects, do per-

form no part of their duties; the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say in their words they are the king's subjects."[1]

Effect of the death of Francis II.

The premature death of the young king, which was hailed with delight by the Scottish Protestants, and over which Knox exults with his usual indecency,[2] changed considerably the relations of Mary with her northern subjects. The tie which connected her with France was severed, and her interests were no longer bound up with those of that country. It seemed only reasonable to hope that many Scotchmen who had hitherto favoured the English alliance mainly through their dread and suspicion of French influence, would now be ready to transfer their full loyalty to their lawful sovereign. It was doubtless in this expectation that Mary, in February 1561, despatched four commissioners to Scotland, to announce to her people the news of her speedy return home, and to promise indemnity for all past offences. A commission was at the same time presented to the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Huntly, and Bothwell, Lord James, and the Archbishop of St

[1] French Correspondence, State Paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Nov. 17, 1560.—(Tytler, *History*, vol. iii. p. 134.)

[2] *Historie*, p. 280. See Keith, *Affairs*, p. 157, *note*.

Andrews, empowering them to summon a Parliament.[1]

Each of the two great parties in the State was now anxious to be foremost in entering into relations with the queen, and offering her their devoted service. At a convention held by the leaders of the Catholics, including the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Crawford, and Sutherland, and the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross, it was agreed to send John Leslie, official of Aberdeen, on a mission to the queen. He accordingly sailed from Aberdeen to Holland, and on April 14 had an interview with Mary at St Vitry, in Champagne, in which he warned her against the intrigues of her half-brother, Lord James, whom he recommended her to cause to be arrested and detained in France until her safe return to Scotland. Leslie also promised that if the queen would disembark at Aberdeen, an army twenty thousand strong would meet her there, and escort her to the capital.[2] These proposals, however, were not accepted by Mary, who was naturally desirous at this juncture to avoid offending either party in the State. Nor was it probable that, remembering the vacillating part played by Huntly in the contest between Mary of Lorraine and the Congregation, the young queen would

Mission of John Leslie to the queen.

[1] *State Papers* (Scotland), vol. vi., Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 26, 1561.

[2] Leslie, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, pp. 531, 532.

place full confidence in his present protestations of loyalty.

The Reformed party, on their side, were not behindhand in preparing to negotiate with their sovereign, and as early as January 1561, Lord James Stuart was deputed by the Congregation to proceed as their envoy to France. On his way thither he remained for some days at the English Court, and was received in audience by Elizabeth and her minister Cecil.[1] His well-known antagonism to the Catholic cause and to legitimate authority in his own country, and the support which he had given to the English policy, were of course a strong recommendation at the Court of Elizabeth, with whom, before his departure, he arrived at an understanding that boded no good to the interests of his own sovereign. On the 15th of April (the day after her interview with Leslie) Queen Mary received her half-brother at St Dizier. She welcomed him with kindness, and even cordiality; but his urgent request (made, doubtless, at the instance of Elizabeth) that she should confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh, was met with a firm refusal. Lord James communicated the particulars of his interview with Mary to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, who transmitted

The ambassador of the Congregation.

[1] See letter of Maitland to Cecil, *State Papers*, Elizabeth, vol. vi., Feb. 6, 1560-61.

them to Elizabeth,[1] together with the information that the Queen of Scots was about to quit France for her own dominions. Elizabeth showed her resentment at the failure of her plans by refusing the safe-conduct through England requested by Mary; and manifested her animus still more unmistakably by sending out some ships of war to intercept the Scottish queen on her homeward voyage.

Departure of Mary from France.

On July 21, 1561, Mary finally quitted Paris, being accompanied as far as St Germain by the king, the queen-mother, the Duke of Anjou, and the King of Navarre. A few days later she set out for Calais, and thence she embarked on the 14th of August, attended by a large retinue, as well as by her three uncles, the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior of France, and the Marquis d'Elbœuf.[2] Leslie was also on board the queen's galley. With sorrowful heart and tearful eyes Mary looked for the last time on the shores of France, her second home.[3] Under cover of a fog her vessel escaped the English cruisers,[4] and

[1] *State Papers* (French Correspondence), Throckmorton to Cecil, April 23, 1561.

[2] *State Papers* (Elizabeth), vol. vi., Maitland to Cecil.—(August 15, 1561.)

[3] It was on this occasion that Mary wrote the well-known and touching lines beginning—

"Adieu, plaisant pays de France
O ma patrie
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance—
Adieu, France! adieu mes beaux jours."

[4] Leslie (*De Reb. Gest. Scot.*, p. 535) speaks of a "perpetua caligo."

arrived safely in the harbour of Leith on the 20th of August.[1] Her arrival at Leith, August 1561.

Although the preparations for the queen's reception, owing partly to her arriving somewhat unexpectedly early, were rather meagre, yet her subjects were not backward in manifesting their loyalty to their young sovereign. The people thronged to the palace of Holyrood in order to convey to her the expression of their devotion; and such manifestations of favour towards a princess the reputation of whose unwavering attachment to the Catholic faith had preceded her to Scotland, may well have inspired her with the hope that the violent antipathy of the Congregation towards the worship of the ancient Church was at least somewhat softened. A few days sufficed to dispel this belief. On the first Sunday after the arrival of the queen, she directed that Mass should be said in the Chapel of Holyrood, for herself and her suite, who were, of course, Catholics like their mistress. So much liberty of worship as this had already been acceded to by her half-brother, Lord James;[2] but the preparations made in the Chapel-Royal for the celebration were more Welcome by the populace.

We may note that while Buchanan (*Rerum Scotic.*, fol. 200) attributes the fog to the good fortune of the queen, Knox styles it a "sore warning" given by God (*Historie*, p. 306).—Translator.

[1] This is the date given by Leslie. Knox, however, says it was the 19th; Buchanan and the Diurnal of Occurrents, the 21st. —Translator.

[2] According to Knox (*Historie*, p. 283), he had been warned by the Congregation, before setting out for France, against promising

than sufficient to arouse from the zealots of the Congregation a fresh outcry against idolatry. A furious mob rushed into the court of the palace, headed by the Master of Lindsay brandishing his sword and shouting, "The idolatrous priests shall die the death!" Lord James, who placed himself armed at the chapel door, succeeded in restraining the fanatics from actual violence, and at the end of Mass conducted the officiating priest to a place of safety. But the excitement was far from allayed; and in the afternoon of the same day the mob again gathered before the palace, and renewed their menaces. The terrified attendants of the queen declared that they must return to France, since liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were denied them in Scotland.[1]

Hostile demonstrations of the Protestants.

On the following morning a proclamation was made in the queen's name, declaring her intention shortly to assemble the Estates for the ordering of religious matters, and forbidding meanwhile any alteration or innovation in the established form of religion, under pain of death. It was at the same time strictly commanded that no molestation should be offered to any of her Majesty's servants or personal attendants, under the same penalty. The policy put forth by this proclamation, and

Proclamation by the queen.

Mary any concession of the kind; to which he replied—"That she should have Mass publicly, he would never consent; but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her?"

[1] Knox, *Historie*, pp. 306, 307. Spottiswood, *History*, vol. ii. p. 8. Keith, *Affairs*, p. 504.

sanctioned by the Privy Council, was thus of a twofold nature, which may be summed up as, first, the maintenance of the Reformed religion, and, secondly, toleration of Catholic worship, as far as concerned the queen and her immediate attendants. There was no question of going beyond this narrow limit in the direction of any general toleration of the Catholic form of belief; but even the very moderate concession granted to the queen and Court was not suffered to pass without violent opposition. The Earl of Arran entered a formal protest against it, asserting that those of the queen's servants who were guilty of idolatry should be put to death, and ought no more to be tolerated than if they committed murder. This "stout and godly protestation," as Knox styles it,[1] had the effect of attracting to Edinburgh other zealous reforming nobles; but, owing in great measure to the circumspect and conciliatory behaviour of Mary, no disturbance took place. "I have been here now," said Campbell of Kinziecleuch to Lord Ochiltree, "five days, and at the first I heard every man say, Let us hang the priest; but after that they had been twice or thrice in the Abbey, all that fervency passed. I think there be some enchantment whereby men are bewitched." Knox, who reports this speech, adds that the queen's fair words, ever crying "Conscience, conscience! it is a sore thing to constrain the con-

Protest of Arran.

[1] *Historie*, p. 308.

science!" as well as the persuasion that she would ultimately be won over to Protestantism, induced the zealots to let matters rest for the time.[1]

Violence of John Knox.

One spirit, however, there was that could not rest. Knox grew alarmed lest his godly work should fall to ruins, and on the very next Sunday preached a violent sermon against the so-called idolatry of the Mass. By way of inflaming to the utmost the fanatical passions of his hearers, he declared that one Mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, on purpose to suppress the true religion.[2]

Queen Mary's conference with Knox.

Undaunted by the hostile demeanour of the arch-Reformer, Mary took the bold step of inviting him to a conference which was held at Holyrood, Lord James Stuart alone being present besides the queen and Knox. According to the Reformer's own narrative, which is the only account we have of the interview,[3] Mary began by warning

[1] *Historie*, p. 309. Keith, *Affairs*, pp. 504-506.

[2] After this testimony (which does not come with less significance from the mouth of an apostate priest) to the efficacy of the Mass, Knox tells us that he went on—very needlessly, it might be thought—to implore the pardon of Heaven for his want of "vehemence" in suppressing idolatry at first.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Historie*, pp. 310-315. Mr Hosack (*Queen Mary*, vol. i. p. 72, *note*) rightly points out that Knox's well-known vanity and habit of exaggeration renders his account of this conference far from absolutely trustworthy. The gratuitous offensiveness of some of his remarks—*e.g.*, his comparison of himself to Plato and St Paul, and of the queen to the bloodiest of the Roman emperors (*Historie*, p. 311)—is almost too great for belief. See Strickland, *Mary Stuart* (*Queens of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 239).—TRANSLATOR.

Knox that he was stirring up sedition among her people; to which he rejoined that if to rebuke idolatry were to excite sedition, he was guilty of the charge. He then proceeded to justify his resistance to the queen by the example of the opposition of the three children to the will of Nabuchodonosor, and that of the apostles to the religion of the Roman emperors. To his argument that princes were required by God to be foster-fathers to the Church, and nourishers of His people, Mary boldly replied, "Yea, but ye are not the Church that I will nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God." Knox upon this launched forth into a coarse and intemperate invective against the Catholic religion. To the pertinent question put by Mary as to who was to be the judge in disputed interpretations of the Scriptures, her opponent, on his own showing, could only give the fatuous answer, "Believe God, that plainly speaketh in His Word; and further than the Word teaches you, you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in itself." Knox's animosity against the queen was not diminished by this interview. "If there be not in her," was his subsequent comment to his own friends, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."[1]

[1] Maitland, writing to Cecil on October 25 (*State Papers*, vol. vi.),

Constitution of the Privy Council.

On September 6, 1561, a new Privy Council was constituted. It included two Catholic peers, the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, but none of the bishops; and the chief direction of affairs was committed into the hands of the Lord James and the Secretary, Maitland—both, of course, zealous Protestants. It was by this conciliatory policy that Mary hoped to win the adherence of the Reformed party, and to obtain the recognition of her claim to the English crown, in the event of Elizabeth dying without issue. But although in this desire she had the cordial co-operation of Lord James and the Secretary, it was not altogether satisfactory to either of the two opposing parties. The Catholics began to be alarmed lest ambition might shake the queen's fidelity to the ancient faith; while the Protestants dreaded that such an issue might lead to the overmastering influence in Scotland of the Anglican Church, which they assailed, in consequence, with the same violent language which they had before employed against Catholicism.[1]

Progress of the queen through Scotland.

Queen Mary spent the month of September in a progress through various parts of the kingdom, visiting Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St Andrews. The Catholic rites were celebrated at these places during her stay—or, as Knox prefers to express

speaks in emphatic terms of the gentle behaviour of the queen, and of the violent language employed by Knox, on this memorable occasion.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 110.

it, "all those parts she polluted with the idolatrous Mass."[1] Soon after her return to Edinburgh, a fresh attempt was made to prevent the Catholic service in the Chapel of Holyrood. This was on the Feast of All Saints; and a few days later a meeting was held at the house of MacGill, the Clerk-Register, to discuss the question whether subjects might suppress the idolatry of their prince. Opinions differed on the point, the Protestant ministers stoutly upholding the proposition, while Lord James Stuart and the Earl of Morton argued against it. The matter was finally referred to the Church of Geneva for decision.[2]

Third meeting of the General Assembly.

The meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh for the third time, in December 1561, was an event of some importance for the Reformed Church. The members of the Privy Council refused to assist at it, on the ground that the convention had not received the royal sanction. The proposal that the Book of Discipline should be presented to the queen for her ratification was brought forward, but without result. It was next

[1] *Historie*, p. 316. Knox subjoins the strange remark that "fire followed the Court very commonly in that journey," apparently in allusion to a narrow escape of the queen from being burned to death at Stirling. The incident is described by Randolph in a letter to Cecil, September 24, 1561 (Keith, *Affairs*, p. 190). The same letter relates that there was a riot on the occasion of Mass being said at Stirling, and that "some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Knox, *Historie*, p. 317. The Reformer does not mention what was Calvin's reply—a pretty good proof, thinks Mr Grub, that it was unfavourable to him.

Provision for the ministers.

agreed to present a petition to the Privy Council, praying that some provision might be made for the ministers. This met with more success; and it was finally resolved, with the consent of the clergy and nobility, that one-third of the ecclesiastical benefices should be handed over to the Crown and to the ministers, the remaining two-thirds to continue in the possession of their holders. The fact that only a sixth of the Church property was assigned for the support of the Reformed clergy, is sufficient evidence that their numbers were very few in comparison with those of the Catholic ecclesiastics still in the country. This share of the benefices, small as it was, would doubtless have amply sufficed for the support of the few superintendents and ministers scattered at wide intervals over what was still practically a Catholic land. But, as a matter of fact, they never received even the small proportion to which they were entitled. "The state of ecclesiastical property at this time," remarks Mr Grub,[1] "was very singular. During the civil war, considerable portions of it had been made over by the prelates and other beneficiaries to their own friends and dependants;[2] and part had been appropriated,

State of Church property.

[1] *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] We have seen that the Parliament of August 1560 passed an Act annulling these transactions [at least, as far as concerned real property.—TRANSL.] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 310. Several of the bishops, anticipating the storm, had taken the precaution of placing the treasures of their churches in a place of safety. This had been

without any title whatever, by the most powerful of the nobility and barons. What still nominally belonged to the Church was in the hands of the bishops, abbots, priors, deans, provosts, parsons, and other holders of ecclesiastical benefices, many of whom had never received holy orders at all, or had embraced the Reformed opinions. These were the parties who were now allowed to retain two-thirds of their revenues. It may easily be supposed that the account given of the other third to the royal collectors was not a very faithful one; and when the proportion falling to the sovereign was deducted, little remained for the Reformed ministers, and that little was dealt out to them in the most niggardly manner by the Protestant barons to whom its distribution was intrusted."

Fourth meeting of the Assembly.

On the 29th of June 1562, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh for the fourth time. Among the matters which came before it for settlement was a petition from Alexander Gordon, the bishop-designate of Galloway, who had embraced Protestantism, and now applied for the office of superintendent of the district of Galloway. The Assembly, however, refused his request, on the ground that he had neither been nominated to the post by the Privy Council nor elected by the

done by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who quitted Scotland for Paris in January 1560. In July 1559, Bishop Gordon of Aberdeen intrusted part of the treasures of his cathedral to the canons, and part to the Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of the kingdom.—*Regist. Ep. Aberdon.*, vol. i. pp. lxv, lxxxvi-xci. Hay, *Scotia Sacra*, vol. i.

province. They promised at the same time to further his appointment when the proper forms had been observed.[1] It must be admitted that in this matter the Assembly acted with more consistency than the *quondam* bishop-elect, who thus aspired to take upon himself, unsolicited, the office of superintendent in a body whose essential principle was that the people were the source of all ecclesiastical authority.

John Craig.

An assistant-minister to John Knox at Edinburgh was appointed at this Assembly, in the person of John Craig, who became henceforth a prominent member of the Congregation. Craig was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and educated at St Andrews. He resided for some time in England, and, on his return home, entered the Dominican order. Not long afterwards he was imprisoned on suspicion of holding heretical opinions, but contrived to clear himself from the charge. He then went to Italy, where he obtained the favour of Cardinal Pole, through whom he received the appointment of novice-master at Bologna. His talents and energy soon recommended him to his superiors, and he was intrusted with the difficult mission of introducing a reform into the Dominican convent on the island of Chios. It was shortly after this that the perusal of the Institutions of Calvin, which accidentally fell into his hands, appears to

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 512.

have awakened in him doubts as to the truth of the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Having repeatedly and openly taught erroneous opinions, he was tried at Rome before the Inquisition, and afterwards condemned by the civil power to death at the stake, the execution being fixed for the 19th of August 1559. It happened that Pope Paul IV. died on the previous evening; and the people, who had resented his stern and vigorous rule, broke into tumult, set fire to the palace of the Inquisition, and freed the prisoners. Among those who thus escaped was Craig, who with great difficulty made his way to Vienna, and was kindly received there by the Archduke Maximilian. On his return to Scotland, he was at first unable, owing to his long residence abroad, to preach in his native tongue, and therefore for a time preached in Latin.[1]

His condemnation,

and escape.

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, p. 113. Spottiswood (*History*, vol. iii. pp. 92, 93) relates, but on no sufficient authority, various wonderful adventures supposed to have been experienced by Craig after his escape from Rome.—Translator.

A Scottish MS. in the Barberini collection (xx. 23) contains a contemporary refutation of a doctrinal treatise put forth by Craig. It is entitled "Ane short catholic confession of the heads of the religion now controverted in Scotland, answering against the heretical negative confession set forth be Jhone Craig in his catechise." The following is an abstract of the contents: 1. Introduction, beginning thus—"We confess with the catholic kirk, out of whilk is no salvation in general, and in particular the howl doctrein allowed be the general concils. . . . 2. Of the power and auctoritie of the pope. 3. Of the sacrifice of the masse. They deteast and abhorre the masse and sacrifice of the new law, which the ancient doctors do embrace most reuerendlie as ane soueraine obla-

Attitude of the Catholic party.

While the Protestant party, by means of their General Assemblies and other public acts, kept themselves before the popular view, and used every means to identify themselves with the national life, the leaders of the Catholics, on the other hand, found themselves, by the force of circumstances, more and more withdrawn from public gaze. The relation published by the Jesuit Goudanus of his mission to Scotland (of which we shall have occasion to speak later), gives us some

tione most acceptable to God the Father, not only as ane remembrance of the passione of his sonne Jesus Chryst, bot also as propitiatoire and profitable both to those that ar yet in lyffe and those that ar depairted. 4. Of the order of preisthead. 5. Of the five sacramentes denyed by the heretikes. 6-8. The sacraments of penitence, mariage, unction. 9. Of purgatorie and prayers for the dead. 10. Of Indulgences useth in the Kirk." The tract speaks of the "temporal punishment due for sinners efter the remission of the sinne," and argues that if nothing but the sufferings of Christ alone were necessary to satisfy for sin, "St Paul had not bein bauld to say, I rejoyce in my sufferings and afflictions for you, and fulfill that which inlaikes [lacks] of the passiones of Chryst in my flesche for his bodie, which is the kirk." 11. Of sacramental confession and satisfaction for sinnes. 12. Of transubstantiation and the reall presence. 13. Of justification be faith and workes. 18. That the pope cannot be justly called the Antechryst, but rather the heretics to be the forrunners of the antechryst. 19. That the catholic kirk cannot erre in deciding thinges appartenning to faithe. . . . If the kirk be called trewly in the scriptures the house, the spouse, the body, the fulness, the kingdome and the inheritance of Chryst, given to him in the warlde, if he loved it, as his awn flesch, whow can it be separated from him be any errour or falsehead of doctrine? . . . I know that our adversars will have recourse to their *onvisible* kirk, maid of the compaignie of the predestinated and elects; but doubtles it was ane *visible* kirk which St Paul calleth the piller and ground of trewthe, for he teached not S. Timothie whow he suld governe him the onvisible kirk. It was ane visible kirk of the whilk Chryst speaketh, *Matth.* xviii."

idea of the dangers to which the Catholic prelates were exposed if they so much as left their houses, or received those persons who were in the slightest degree suspected of having relations with foreign parts, and more especially with Rome. Not all the Catholics, however, submitted to this policy of suppression. Among the ranks of the inferior clergy there were many who, undismayed at the dangers which menaced them, leaped boldly into the breach in defence of the Church. We have already spoken of the disputation which was held between the Reformed preachers and certain clergy of Aberdeen. Other similar conferences took place at various times, but their details have not been preserved.[1] One of these was held at Edinburgh, shortly before the return of the queen, between Willock, the apostate Dominican, and John Black, a friar of the same order. The controversy, according to Leslie, turned upon the sacrament of the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the altar. As usual in such cases, it had no satisfactory result.[2]

Ninian Winzet.

It was about this time that Ninian Winzet first appeared in the lists in defence of the doctrines of the ancient Church. This distinguished ecclesiastic and writer, who shares with Bishop Leslie and Abbot Kennedy of Crossraguel the honour of being reckoned among the foremost champions

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 114.
[2] Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.*, p. 533.

of Catholic truth in Scotland, was born at Renfrew in 1518. He received a good education, was admitted in due time to holy orders,[1] and in 1551 was appointed master of the grammar-school of Linlithgow, in whose historic palace Mary Stuart had first seen the light nine years previously. Winzet was a schoolmaster of the type of which the middle ages afforded so many examples—one who turned his classical learning and scholarship to the service of religion, and who considered it an instructor's highest duty to educate the young in virtue and the fear of God. The office of teacher, he tells us himself, held in his estimation the highest place, after that of ministers of justice and godly pastors, in the economy of Christian society.[2]

In the course of the year 1561, Winzet held disputations at Linlithgow with Knox and Spottiswood; while Robert Maxwell (who was likewise a schoolmaster) encountered Willock in Glasgow; and Réné Benoist, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had accompanied the queen to Edinburgh, held a discussion, towards the end of the same year, with the Reformed preachers

[1] The date of his ordination to the priesthood was 1540, as appears from a note inserted by Father Dalrymple (a monk of Ratisbon, and Winzet's contemporary) in his translation of Leslie's History. Winzet, he says, "depairted this lyfe . . . sacerdotii sui lii, Christi vero, 1592." See Introduction to *Certain Tractates* (ed. Hewitson, 1888), p. xv.—Translator.

[2] *Certain Tractates*, p. 23.

at Edinburgh.[1] Some months previously Winzet had received a requisition to sign the confession of the Reformed Church; and as he steadfastly refused to do so, he was deprived of his office, as he himself mentions, and compelled to quit his "kindly toun." He now went to reside in Edinburgh, where he publishd, early in 1562, three tractates, which are among the most interesting monuments preserved to us, as well of the ancient Scottish speech as of the faith of the ancient Scottish Church. The first of these treatises is addressed to the queen, bishops, and Catholic nobility; the second, to the Protestants; and the third, to the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh.[2] The writer begins by asking the royal

Winzet's writings

[1] Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.*, p. 538. Randolph, writing to Cecil on December 7, 1561 (Keith, *Affairs*, p. 208), adds in a postscript, "I reserve the pastime that hath been between the ministers and the queen's doctor of Sorbonne, until a time that I think your honour more at leisure than at this present."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, set furth at the Desyre and in the Name of the afflictit Catholickis of inferiour Ordour of Clergy and Layit-Men in Scotland: be Niniane Winzet ane Catholicke Preist, borne in Renfrew. Quhilkis be name this Leif turnit sall schaw. *Murus aheneus sana conscientia.* Edinburji, 21 Maii, 1562. (Reprinted for the Scottish Text Society, 1888.)

The *First*, Ane Exhortatioune to the maist Excellent and gracius Soverane, *Marie*, Quene of *Scottis*, &c. To the Bischopes and utheris Pastores, and to all thame of the Nobilitie within this hir Grace's Realme; for unfenzeit Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, and for obtening of Licence to propone in Wryt to the Precheouris of the Protestantis, certane Artyculis tweching Doctryne, Ordour, and Maneris approvin be thame.

The *Second*, Thre Questionis tweching the lauchfull Vocatioun of *Johne Knox*, and his Brether Precheouris, to the Protestantis in

permission to submit certain articles of doctrine to the Protestant preachers. He deplores the condition of the ship of State, tossed about by contrary winds between shoals on the one hand and dangerous rocks on the other. Then, addressing himself directly to the higher clergy, he denounces in the severest terms their dereliction of duty, and the scandal of their lives. Did we not know from other sources that the abuses of which he complains actually existed, we should be disposed to accuse him of exaggeration. But sharp, and even bitter, as are his words, no one acquainted with the state of the Scottish Church at the period of its fall will venture to say that they shot beyond the mark.[1]

Denunciation of the laxness of the higher clergy.

"Whether we shall begin," writes Winzet in scathing irony, "our commendation and praise

Scotlande; quhilkis ar in noumbre the xxxiii., xxxiv., and xxxv. of the fourscore thre Questionis proponit to thame be the saidis Catholickis: Togedder with thre Wryttingis deliverit to the said *Johne*, quhairin is replyit aganis his Answeris maid to ane Part of the said thre Questionis.

The *Third*, Ane Declamatioun to the honorable Provest, Baillies, and Counsell of Edinburgh, for the Observatioun of the glaid Solemnities of the blyssit Nativitie, Circumcisioun, Epiphanie, Ressurrectioun and Ascensioun of our Salviour, with the Feist of *Witsonday;* haistelie maid on *Pasche-Tuisday*, *Anno* 1562, quhen thare apperit ane dangerous Seditioun in Edinburgh, throw calking of the Durris on every Syde, as efter sall follow. *Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.*

[1] Mr Grub's assertion (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 115), that Winzet denounced the "erroneous doctrines" of the bishops, is incorrect and misleading. It was their lives, not their teaching, against which his indignation was directed.—TRANSLATOR.

at your holy lives, or at your healthful doctrine, we are doubtful; since your godly living, garnished with chastity, fasting, prayer, and sobriety, by the worthy fruits thereof (what needs more?) is patent to all men. Your merchandise, your simony, your glorious estate, your solicitude by marriage, . . . who speaks not of it? Your liberality to the poor, your magnificent colleges of godly learned in your company, your nourishing of poor students, all countries and colleges do deplore. Your godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to your ignorant babes, all Ethnick, Turk, and Jew may laugh at, that being the special ground of all impiety and division this day within thee, O Scotland. Your wise, sage, and grave familiar servants, void of all vanity, bodily lusts, and heresy, are spoken of to your praise, God wot. Your dumb doctrine, in exalting ceremonies only, without any declaration of the same, and, far more, keeping in silence the true Word of God, necessary to all men's salvation, and not resisting manifest errors, to the world is known. What part of the true religion, by your slothful dominion and princely estate, is not corrupted or obscured? Have not many, through lack of teaching, in mad ignorance misknown their duty, which we all owe to our Lord God, and so in their perfect belief have sorely stumbled? Were not the sacraments of Christ Jesus profaned by ignorant and wicked persons,

neither able to persuade to godliness by learning nor by living? Of the which number we confess the most part of us of the ecclesiastical state to have been, in our ignorant and inexpert youth, unworthily by you admitted to the ministration thereof. If these things most special, through ignorance and avarice, be brought from their purity, what marvel is it that matters of less price, as of images, the invocation of saints to pray for us, the prayer for the souls departed, and many such things, in sobriety and learned simplicity lawful, be at this time corrupted and profaned from the mind of our ancient elders by the same vices? Were ye commanded in vain of God by the mouths of His prophets and apostles to watch attentively and continually upon your flock, and know diligently the same by face? Or gave the princes of the earth to you yearly rents (as the disciples in the beginning sold their lands, and gave the prices thereof to the apostles), to the end that every one of you might spend the same upon his dame Delilah and base-born brats? And albeit it chance oft to the infirmity of man that he fall on sleep when he should chiefly watch, and be given to pastime when he should most diligently labour: But yet, O merciful God, what deadly sleep is this that has oppressed you, that in so great uproar, tumult, and terrible clamour, ye waken not forth of your dream? And in so great danger of death, ye have no regard of your

own lives nor others? Awake, awake, we say, and put to your hands stoutly to save Peter's ship; for He neither sleeps nor slumbers who beholds all your doings, and sees your thoughts, but shall require the blood out of your hands of the smallest one that shall perish through your negligence."[1]

The disorderly lives of the nobles.

Winzet next holds up the mirror to the degenerate nobles, the abuses of whose lives and actions had brought so many evils on the Church. "The special roots of all mischief," he continues, "we suspect not your prudent nobility to misknow to be the two infernal monsters, pride and avarice; of the which unhappily has upsprung the election of unqualified bishops, and other pastors in Scotland; and that lately, as we can collect, within these hundred years, in the great destruction of the true religion of Christians, and in provocation of God's wrath against us. For before those days, no man, gentle nor other, for fear of conscience, and doubt of his inability, would receive the office of a pastor until he was almost compelled thereto. . . . And so ye nobles specially, and your late progenitors, blinded by carnal affection of your babes, brothers, or other friends, or by avarice, have destroyed the true religion and triumphant kingdom of Christ, so far as ye might; putting in the place of godly ministers, and true successors of the apostles, dumb

[1] *Certain Tractates*, pp. 5, 6.

dogs; who for the most part in extreme danger of their Master's house, the Kirk of Christ, dare not only not bark, but most shamefully paid with staff and stick, dare neither whine nor cry." The nobles are further reproached that too many of their number "live as epicureans, without faith or love to God or man. And others, on the contrary, rejoice to be called *Gospellers*, and cunning in Scripture; who, lifted up in high curiosity of questions, and (as appears to us) in manifest errors and presumption, make of the Gospel a taking craft, without further practice of God's law in deed; who, although they cry out fast upon idolatry, yet they are, no less than the other degenerate ignorants above specified, as wicked Ethnicks and bound subjects to the monstrous idolatry of avarice, never intending to cleanse their hands of the kirk rents, nor of the blood and sweat of the poor; spurring others to reformation, but indeed never reforming themselves from the idolatry of avarice; never changing in this dangerous battle of religion their babes for men, their ignorant ones for learned." [1]

Reasons for Winzet's petition to the queen.

Winzet concludes by setting forth the reasons for his petition to the queen. "The one cause is, that we intending to be faithful Christians, and ready to suffer thy Grace's laws for any crime

[1] *Certain Tractates*, pp. 6-8. The last sentence alludes to the abuse of presenting children and other incompetent persons to benefices.—TRANSLATOR.

committed by us, are compelled either to affirm in religion before man contrary to our conscience, or to be incarcerated or exiled, and holden by the world as infidels, heretics, apostates, or wicked persons, unworthy the company of Christians; and in the meantime, at such extreme poverty are all we of the clergy, that we are almost lost without any mercy of man. The other cause is that we being of small learning, and so loath to be hypocrites to our condemnation, have long abided for reasoning of the bishops, theologians, and others well learned, to a godly reformation right necessary. Which thing not coming to pass, but more had of the kitchen than of the choir, we may no ways longer contain us, but express on all sides as we think, referring our judgment to the holy Catholic Kirk."[1]

Propositions submitted to Knox by Winzet.

On February 27, 1562, Winzet addressed to Knox eighty-three propositions, in which the principal tenets of the ancient Church attacked by the Reformers are defended from Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers. The articles were delivered to Knox—who was requested to submit a reply to them in writing—by a personal friend of his own, who had shown himself anxious to bring about a union between the Catholics and the Reformed party. An abstract is subjoined of the principal of these propositions,

[1] *Certain Tractates*, pp. 10, 11.

which rank among the most important religious writings of the time.[1]

The Protestants are asked, among other questions: Whether they believe the judgment of the Holy Church to be set forth most truly by the primitive doctors and general councils, or by John Calvin and his associates? Why they have taken away the true meaning of the article of the Creed, that Christ descended into hell, substituting for it Calvin's private opinion that the words signify only the anguish which Christ suffered? Why they make their two sacraments signs only of salvation whereby men are assured of God's grace, and not rather efficacious means whereby God works His grace in them? Why, since they admit of no ceremonies except such as are expressly commanded in Scripture, they notwithstanding refuse to baptise children unless their father holds them up before the pulpit? why they baptise in the church only, and not in the field, or by a river-side, like St John Baptist and St Philip? why they baptise not unless the child then receive a name? Why their table is covered with a white cloth at the Communion? why they cause others than the minister to distribute the bread and the wine, when our Saviour

[1] The summary which follows is taken from Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 117-119. The full text of the articles is given by Keith, *Affairs*, pp. 226-252. The thirty-third, thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth are those which directly call in question Knox's lawful vocation to the ministry.—TRANSLATOR.

alone did so to the apostles, commanding them as His ministers to do the same? why they make their Communion before dinner, when the sacrament was instituted after supper? Why they refuse to solemnise matrimony unless the banns are first proclaimed? why they cause persons about to be married to take each other by the hand, and sometimes a ring to be given? Why they say that in the Communion nothing is present except bread and wine, when our Saviour says expressly, "This is my body; this is my blood"? Why they do not minister the Communion to the sick before they depart out of this life? Why, when their sovereign Lady Mary has shown such humility, gentleness, and wisdom, as should soften the heart of every true Scot, they exhort her subjects so fervently to rebellion unless she accept the opinions of Calvin? Since by elders in the New Testament are meant bishops and priests, whose office it is to preach and minister the sacraments, why they have invented a new order of elders, who are forbidden to discharge these offices? Since the sacrament of confirmation was used by the apostles, why do they esteem it a thing of no importance, and but papistical superstition? Since the priests of the Church should come to the sick and anoint them with oil, and pray for them, as our Saviour teaches by the mouth of St James, why have they abolished extreme

unction, and deprived it of the name of a sacrament? Although it is well known that in the primitive Church married persons were often promoted to be bishops, priests, and deacons, where was it ever heard in that Church that men, unmarried at the time of their ordination, were allowed to marry afterwards without reproof and punishment? Since in the Scriptures we read of care bestowed on the funerals of the patriarchs, of our Lord, of St John Baptist, and of St Stephen, why have they dishonoured the bodies and sepulchres of the princes and nobles of Scotland? Since they admit no unwritten tradition, why do they celebrate their Sabbath-day with the Catholics on Sunday, and not with the Jews on Saturday? Why do they use, as Catholics do, to sing Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, at the end of every psalm, when that godly form was commanded by Pope Damasus to be sung for the rebuke of heretics? What can they show expressly written to confute the Anabaptists of error, who deny that children should be baptised in infancy? What Scripture have they for receiving so many gospels and epistles in the New Testament, and no more? If the Church be invisible, how can men show their complaints to the Church, according to our Saviour's command, and how in that case can the Church be the pillar and ground of the truth? Since fasting

was practised by Moses, Elias, and the Ninevites, by St John Baptist, and by our Saviour, who also foretold that His disciples should fast when the Bridegroom was removed, how is the Church guilty of idolatry in observing the yearly fast of Lent, and the weekly fasts of Friday, and Wednesday or Saturday? Why have they rejected the monastic life, which was held in such estimation by the primitive Church? Why have they thrown down the monasteries, which by a godly reformation might have nourished men given to prayer, and been colleges of learning for the support of poor students? or, if the monasteries were polluted with idolatry, why have they not destroyed wholly, as they have done in part, the parish churches and cathedrals, in which the same idolatry (so-called) was practised? Since the Scriptures mention the frequent prayers of our Lord and His apostles, of David, and of Daniel, was it not a goodly rule of the Church that prayers should be sung or read seven times daily by able ministers chosen thereto; and why do they in their Reformed order pray only by one minister, once only every day in the best churches, in many places thrice a-week, and in far more not once a-month?

Winzet's skill in argument.

In these propositions, of which the foregoing is only a summary, the teaching of the ancient Church is defended by Winzet with skill and learning. They do not, it is true, display any

wide extent of patristic erudition; but the absence of this may well be accounted for by the necessary haste with which they were compiled, as well as by the difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining access to the works of the Fathers after the recent devastation of the chief libraries throughout the country. The reasoning of Winzet, on the other hand, is characterised by a vigour and ability which are indisputable, and the incisive logic of his arguments must be admitted even by opponents of his views. Knox himself gave unmistakable evidence of this. We find no effort on his part to make a calm and candid examination of the propositions submitted to him, or to attempt their refutation. As a matter of fact, they are and remain altogether unassailable.[1]

Knox's only rejoinder to the arguments of his adversary was a loose and superficial discussion of them in one of his public sermons. Winzet, in a letter addressed to him on the 3d of March, urged him to read the questions fully and sincerely, and to answer them in writing. Winzet's own anxiety to be fair and conscientious is evident from the postscript of this

[1] See Lawson's ed. of Keith, vol. iii. p. 503. "There can be no doubt that Winzet has completely the advantage of his opponents in most things that he charges them with." Mr Hewitson (Introduction to *Certain Tractates*, p. xxxvii) states—without, however, giving any authority—that Knox intended to reply to his opponent in the form of a tractate.—TRANSLATOR.

letter, in which he disclaims responsibility for any writings put forth in his name but not bearing his signature.[1]

On the 10th of March, Winzet wrote a second letter to Knox, who had, it appeared, meanwhile attempted to justify his vocation by the example of the prophet Amos. Winzet showed without much difficulty that the cases were far from parallel: Amos was called immediately by God Himself, for a special purpose; nor did he usurp the authority of the high priest at Jerusalem, as Knox had done that of the Scottish primate. The attention of Knox is further called to three points: First, the terrible punishment of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, who had maintained that "all the multitude consisted of holy ones, and the Lord was among them," just as Knox and his followers quoted in their own favour the Scripture, "He hath made us kings and priests to God and His Father." Secondly, he is reminded that "the wisdom that is from above is first chaste, then peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded;" and that "the servant of the Lord must not wrangle, but be mild towards all men, apt to teach, patient." Thirdly, Knox is urged to show some better testimony of his vocation than he has hitherto done, or else his own disciples will think "that one mistuned string confounds all his harmony." In a third letter,

Second letter of Winzet to Knox.

Numbers xvi.

Apocal. i. 6.

James iii. 17.

2 Tim. ii. 24.

Winzet's third letter.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 211.

dated the 12th of March, Winzet again insists on the duty of Knox to give some proof of his calling, reminding him of the presumption of Ozias and its punishment, and concluding with these earnest words: "Moreover, that ye may be persuaded that we speak unfencedly and sincerely of conscience, we pray the Omnipotent to be merciful to us all, and to stop and close the mouths of you or us who speaks iniquity in double mind."[1]

The Third Tractate.

In the Easter of 1562, Edinburgh was the scene of serious disturbances, caused by the endeavour of the magistrates to prevent the observance of the festival. With the instinct of a zealous Catholic, Winzet at once brought out a short treatise on the subject of the Christian festivals, defending them against the invectives of Knox, who had denounced them as superstition and idolatry. After a reference to the solemn feast of the dedication of King Solomon's temple, and the public thanksgivings for the deliverance of the Jewish people from Holofernes and Haman, he goes on to ask on what grounds the observance of Sunday is retained, if the other festivals are abolished. "O madman and most foolish!" he exclaims; "would he persuade a faithful Christian that the whole Uni-

[1] The following are the closing words of the letter: "Vale, et in Dei sapientia vince, aut resipisce. Be zouris in all godlines." The last two letters are signed, "Niniane Winzet, at the desire of his Brethren."

versal Kirk is more unthankful and less mindful of the birth of her Spouse and King, the Son of God, than any realm is of their temporal king, whose day of nativity no country forgets during his lifetime? But our King and most sweet Spouse lives for ever."[1]

The 'Last Blast' forcibly suppressed.

As Knox, in reply to Winzet's repeated invitations to prove the lawfulness of his mission, preserved a discreet and unbroken silence, the latter, towards the end of July, issued his work entitled "The last blast of the trumpet against the usurped authority of John Knox and his Calvinian brethren." Unable to refute the Catholic champion by argument, his opponents now had recourse to violence. The printing-office was broken open by order of the Edinburgh magistrates, the printer thrown into prison, and the copies of the work carried off.[2] It was intended to apprehend Winzet himself, but at the instant the officers entered the house he escaped by another door. No longer safe in his own country, he crossed the seas to Belgium, and for some time resided at Louvain[3] and Ant-

Winzet quits Scotland.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 216.

[2] A single fragment only of this work, consisting of five leaves, of which the last is imperfect, survives. It is preserved in the University Library of Edinburgh, bound up with a copy of the Tractates. The fragment has been reprinted in the Scottish Text Society edition of Winzet's works, vol. i. p. 37 *sq.*

[3] Mr Hewitson points out (Introduction to *Certain Tractates*, p. xliv) that Winzet's name is not to be found on the roll of the students of Louvain. See, however, the contemporary testimony of Goudanus below.—TRANSLATOR.

werp. His eighty-three propositions addressed to Knox were published at Antwerp on October 13, 1563. Winzet never returned to Scotland, but his interest in the religious fortunes of his country remained undiminished, and his pen was ever ready in the cause of the ancient faith. In December 1563 he issued a Scottish translation of the *Commonitorium* of St Vincent of Lerins;[1] and the beginning of 1565 witnessed the publication at Paris, where he resided for several years, of his translation of the "Method of composing discords in religion," by Réné Benoist.[2] We find Winzet, in the course of 1575, pursuing his studies at the University of Douai, where, together with others of his countrymen, he is recorded to have obtained the degree of licentiate in theology, on July 12.[3] In the year

Works published abroad.

[1] "Vincentius Lirinensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the Antiquitie and Veritie of the Catholik Fayth, aganis ye prophane Novationis of all Hæreseis: a richt goldin Buke, writtin in Latin about xi. c. zeris passit, and neulie translatit in Scotis be Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Preist." Antwerpiæ, ex officina Aegidii Diest. 1 Decemb. 1563. Cum gratia et privilegio. Winzet's works, down to and including the above, were reprinted in 1835 for the Maitland Club.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Benoist, as already mentioned, accompanied Queen Mary from France in 1561, and remained in Scotland for two years as her confessor. He was the author of numerous works. See Niceron, *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xli. p. 1.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Knox, *Records of the English Catholics*, vol. i. p. 274. "M. Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, fuit creatus licentiatus, præsid. D. Alano, 12 Julii 1575. . . . M. Georgius Duræus et M. Joannes Duræus, Scoti, fuerunt creati licentiati S. Theolog., 27 Novembris 1576, præside D. Rubo. [The original parchment is preserved at Blairs College.—TRANSLATOR.]

1576, probably on the recommendation of Bishop Leslie of Ross, he was appointed by Pope Gregory XIII. abbot of the Scotch monastery of St James at Ratisbon.[1] A few years subsequently he published his "Flagellum sectariorum," to which was appended a reply to Buchanan's essay, "De jure Regni apud Scotos." Winzet died at Ratisbon on September 21, 1592, in his seventy-fifth year. Contemporary writers are unanimous in their praise of his upright life, his wide and varied learning, and his indefatigable zeal in defence of the Catholic faith. Among the champions of the fallen Church he holds a foremost place, and his arguments on behalf of her doctrine and discipline still remain unanswered.[2]

Winzet Abbot of St James', Ratisbon.

His death, 1592.

In the year 1562 took place the last public disputation of which we have record between the adherents of the opposing creeds. The Assembly, at a meeting held in June, commissioned George Hay to preach in Carrick and Cunningham, Kyle and Galloway being at the same time assigned to

Disputes between rival theologians.

[1] He received the abbatial benediction from Thomas Goldwell, the exiled Bishop of St Asaph, and last survivor of the ancient English hierarchy. See *Certain Tractates*, Appendix F. to Introduction.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See Irving, *Lives of Scotish Writers*, pp. 98-121; Mackenzie, *Lives*, vol. iii. pp. 148-155. The Jesuit father Goudanus writes of Winzet: "Est hic Lovanii quidem M[agister] Ninianus, Scotus, qui nobiscum venit ex Scotia, qui multa plura novit de statu episcoporum et totius regni. . . . Est tenuis fortunæ, qui seipsum alere non potest; alioquin est vir doctus et pius, qui etiam editis libellis se in Scotia opposuit primario hæretico, qui nunc illic grassatur."—*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 1880, p. 106.

Knox. The mission of Hay brought him into contact with the zealous abbot of Crossraguel; and we find him in the following year publishing a work in reply to one written by Abbot Kennedy in defence of the doctrine of the Mass. The zeal of the good abbot, however, would not be satisfied without an encounter with the arch-champion of the Protestant cause; and a meeting was accordingly arranged between himself and Knox, and duly took place on September 28, 1562, at the house of the provost of the collegiate church of Maybole. The subject of disputation was the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, which the abbot upheld from Scripture and tradition, while Knox as strenuously denied it. The latter further denied altogether the authority of the Church in matters of faith, and repeated his former assertion that he and his fellow-preachers had been raised up like the prophets of old, and needed no miracles to prove the lawfulness of their vocation. The conference ended (as usual in such cases) in both parties claiming the victory.[1]

[1] Conœus, in his work *De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos* (Rome, 1628), p. 136, relates exultingly that Kennedy "totos tres dies cum eodem apostata in magna hominum concione de religione disputans, victum tandem arena cedere coegit." Bishop Leslie takes much the same view. Knox, on the other hand, published the Disputation, prefixing to it a triumphant Prologue, in which he attacks his opponents in language more than usually indecent and scurrilous. Even the Protestant editor of this work (which was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1812) stigmatises it as coarse and intemperate, and far from creditable to the chief champion of Protestantism.—TRANSLATOR.

A proposal, made apparently with the approval of Kennedy and Knox, that the controversy should be continued at Edinburgh, subject to the queen's consent, does not seem to have been carried out. Abbot Quintin was already advanced in years when he first appeared as a champion of the Catholic faith against the Reformers; and his health might well have been undermined by the constant and indefatigable energy with which he combated the enemies of the Church. He was further harassed by continual threats of prosecution at the hands of the Protestant leaders—a fate from which only the influence of his still powerful nephew, the Earl of Cassillis, was able to protect him. Abbot Kennedy died in his own monastery on the 22d of August 1564. "Had all the Scottish prelates," Mr Grub well remarks, "possessed the learning and the virtues of the last consecrated Abbot of Crossraguel, the reformation of the Church might have been effected in a very different manner."[1]

Death of Abbot Quintin Kennedy.

Mary Stuart, as a faithful daughter of the Catholic Church, had not failed since her accession to the throne to cultivate and preserve close relations with the Holy See. Early in 1560 am-

Communications between Queen Mary and the Holy See.

[1] *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 127. The curious mistake of certain Scottish writers, who asserted that Abbot Kennedy was canonised after death, seems to have originated in some confusion between him and St Kinedus Eremita, a saint of the seventh century, whom Dempster assumes to have been of the family of Cassillis. —Translator.

bassadors from King Francis II. and his queen were despatched to Rome to lay the tribute of their sovereign's obedience at the feet of Pope Pius IV.[1] In a consistory held on the 4th of May, the Pontiff expressed his grateful acceptance of their homage, adding the assurance of his sorrow at the disastrous condition of Christendom, and his renewed determination, on that account, to reassemble the General Council, which he trusted might succeed in recovering the wandering sheep to the fold of the Church.[2] In the following spring Pius sent to the now widowed Queen of Scots, as a mark of his special favour and sympathy, the Golden Rose, accompanied by a letter full of noble and touching sentiments.[3]

Scotland and the Council of Trent.

On January 12, 1562, the Pope urged Mary to send bishops and an ambassador from Scotland to join in the approaching deliberations of the Council. The queen would gladly have complied with the request, had the circumstances of the time and country permitted it. As it was, such a step

[1] The Pope this same year despatched as nuncio to Holyrood the Bishop of Amiens and three doctors of the Sorbonne.—Leslie, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.*, p. 516.

[2] Raynald, *Annal. Eccles.*, ann. 1560, § xxiv., t. xv., pp. 60, 61. "Responsum datum Oratori Francorum Regis et Reginæ Scotiæ, post obedientiam tributam Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Pape IV. de mense Maii MDLX."

[3] The letter speaks of the Pontiff's pastoral goodwill towards the queen, "who like a most fair rose among thorns diffuses far and wide the sweet odour of her faith and good works." The text of the document is given by Raynald, ann. 1561, § lxxvi., t. xv., pp. 164, 165.—Translator.

would have been impossible, and to attempt it would have cost her the crown, if not her life. All she could do was to address letters to the Pope and to the assembled fathers, praying them to hold the Scottish prelates excused.[1] She also commissioned her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to explain to the Council her inability to comply with the wishes of the Pope. The queen's letter was read at Trent on May 10, 1563. The assembled fathers heard with joy her promise to enforce as far as possible the observance of the decrees of the Council by her subjects; and they declared, by the mouth of their prolocutor, that the name of Mary would ever be held in honour as that of a princess prepared to sacrifice all, even life itself, for the cause of the faith. The Cardinal of Lorraine expressed the hope that some of the Scottish bishops who were then in France might be able to appear at the Council. Among these was Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow. This prelate, however, occupied the important office of ambassador at the Court of France—a post which he found it impossible to quit in order to repair to Trent, inasmuch as his advice and assistance were

[1] The queen's letter to the Council, dated at St Andrews, March 18, 1563, is printed by Robertson (*Statuta*, p. 249) from Labanoff (*Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. i., pp. 179, 180). "Tamen hujus temporis," writes Mary, "tanta fuit injuria, ut non modo nostri regni Antistites istuc proficisci non sinat, sed etiam (quod sine magna molestia ferre non possumus) nostros ipsos mittere Legatos vires facultatemque adimat." Robertson also gives (*op. cit.*, p. 250) a report of the Cardinal's speech to the Council.

indispensable to his royal mistress at this critical time.

Nicholas of Gouda nuncio to Scotland.

In December 1561, Pius IV., desiring to afford to the sorely tried Queen of Scots a fresh proof of his fatherly benevolence, despatched to her a nuncio in the person of Nicholas Goudanus, of the Society of Jesus. He was intrusted with letters for the queen, the bishops, and some of the nobility, and charged to confirm Mary, if needful, in her attachment to the Catholic faith, and to counsel her how best to maintain it in her realm. Goudanus (whose real name was Nicholas Floris, of Gouda, in Holland) landed at Leith on June 19, 1562, acquitted himself of his mission, and returned by way of Antwerp, in the disguise of a sailor, on September 13 of the same year. A letter written by him to James Laynez, general of the Society, and full of interesting details, has only lately come to light. It is dated from Mayence, September 30, 1562, and well deserves our attention, as the narrative of a clear-sighted eye-witness, and as throwing a new and valuable light upon the condition of the faithful Scottish Catholics groaning under the intolerable yoke of the Congregation.[1]

Goudanus arrived in Scotland accompanied by a Scotch priest named Edmund Hay, in whose

[1] The nuncio's letter was printed in the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 1880, from a Latin MS. in the archives of the S.J. A translation of it will be found in Father Forbes-Leith's *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 63-79.

father's house he took up his residence. He at once asked for an audience of the queen; but it was not until a month after his arrival that his request was acceded to, and it was arranged that the queen should receive him at Holyrood. Meanwhile the tidings that a Papal nuncio had made his appearance in the land of the pure Gospel aroused a tempest of indignation in the Congregation—"insomuch," he writes, "that their chief and most renowned preacher, John Knox, a Scotchman, in almost every sermon that he delivered, stormed and raged most vehemently against the Pope, the antichrist, and the nuncio, whom he declared to be an emissary of the devil, sent by Baal and Beelzebub himself." The result of this was that Goudanus was no longer able for fear of his life to appear in public. On July 24, 1562, the promised audience took place, the queen receiving the nuncio, together with another Jesuit named Réné, and Mr Edmund Hay, privately at Holyrood, whilst the members of the Court were attending a Protestant service. Goudanus delivered the Pope's letter to the queen, who in reply said that the Holy Father might count upon her goodwill, adding that in order to preserve some remains of the Catholic faith, she had been obliged to do many things much against her will, and further, that she would confer with the bishops as to the possibility of their attending the Council of Trent. "She declared, moreover, with regard to

Excitement of the Protestant party.

herself, that she would far rather die than abandon the faith." When the nuncio turned the conversation to the subject of the papal letters to be delivered to the bishops, the queen observed that he could do so safely to only one of their number, namely, to the Bishop of Ross, "president of the Parliament."[1] She afterwards desired that the letters should be handed to her private secretary, who would undertake to forward them to the prelates—a measure to which Goudanus agreed only on condition that Mary mentioned the fact in her letter to the Pope.[2]

Difficulties encountered by the nuncio.

So powerful and tyrannical was the influence wielded by the now dominant Congregation, that most of the bishops showed the greatest reluctance to receive Goudanus, or even to reply to his letters. Nor was Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, an exception to the rule. To the queen's request that he would enter into communication with the nuncio, he pleaded in excuse that were he to comply, "his house would without doubt be destroyed within four-and-twenty hours;" nor would he consent to confer with Goudanus even through the mediation of a Carthusian prior. On the same ground, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane refused to permit the nuncio to approach his presence in his retired and solitary episcopal city—"even though,"

[1] Bishop Sinclair's proper title was President of the Court of Session.

[2] *Laachen Stimmen*, pp. 89, 90.

observes Goudanus, "I had gone thither in disguise, and comported myself as one of his servants, so that I could be recognised by no one as the nuncio."[1] Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, on the other hand, as well as Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, sent replies to the nuncio's letters. The latter prelate, alone among the bishops, ventured to receive the papal envoy, who, however, was compelled to disguise himself as a banker's clerk, in order to escape the recognition of the household. He dined with the bishop; and "during the whole meal," he remarks, "the conversation, as previously agreed upon, ran entirely on money."

A picture of the religious state of Scotland.

The nuncio goes on to describe the condition in which he found the Scottish Church. We will allow him to speak for himself on this point.[2] "The aspect of things," he writes, "is miserable enough. The monasteries are nearly all in ruins, some completely destroyed; churches, altars, sanctuaries, are overthrown and profaned. The images of Christ and of the saints broken and lying in the dust. No religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom, no Mass ever said in public except in the queen's chapel, and none of the sacraments are publicly administered with Catholic ceremonial. Children can be baptised

[1] *Laachen Stimmen*, p. 94.

[2] The extract which follows is taken from Father Forbes-Leith's translation of Goudanus's letter (*Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 72-74).

Report of the nuncio Goudanus.

only after the heretical form, and that on Sundays only, so that many infants die unbaptised. The ministers, as they call them, are either apostate monks or laymen of low rank, and are quite unlearned, being cobblers, shoemakers, tanners, or the like, while their ministrations consist merely of declamation against the Supreme Pontiff, and the holy sacrifice of the altar, the idolatry of the Mass, worship of images, and invocation of saints. These, and other impieties, they are continually shouting into the ears of the credulous multitude, who know no better. They are so insane as not only to have destroyed the images of the saints, but also burnt the writings of the holy fathers of the Church, thus repudiating the authority of general councils and apostolic tradition. They reverence nothing but Holy Scripture, and this they interpret in a sense as opposite as possible to the doctrines of the Church. They have superintendents, who diligently visit the churches, drive out by force the legitimate pastors wherever they find any, and not only confirm the wretched people in their errors, but draw away Catholics, and sometimes even priests, from the true religion. One day, close to the place where I lodged, three priests publicly abjured the Catholic faith; and another time, while I was there, one of the principal superintendents, a doctor of theology and a monk, then about seventy years of age, was openly married. This

Report of the nuncio Goudanus.

was done to enforce practically, as he had often done verbally, their doctrine of the unlawfulness of the vow of chastity, which they are perpetually proclaiming from the pulpit. They use every possible device to lead the wretched people astray. Whenever any one comes into a court of law, the magistrates always inquire first if they are 'Papists,' or belong to their congregation. Should they be Papists, they can get very little, if any, attention paid to their cause. The men in power acknowledge the queen's title, but prevent her exercising any of the rights of sovereignty: whenever her opinion does not agree with theirs, they oppose her at once. Not only so, but they deceive her as well, and frighten her with threats of an English invasion, especially when she is meditating any steps in support of her faith, reminding her that the English did really invade Scotland three years ago, at the time when her mother, of pious memory, endeavoured to shake off her heretical tyrants with the aid of the French. What can this good young princess effect, brought up amid the splendour and luxury of the French Court, scarcely twenty years old, and destitute of all human support and counsel? Her very confessor abandoned her just before I came away, and returned to France with some of her Catholic attendants, leaving her alone among heretics, whom, notwithstanding, she continues to resist and counteract to the best of her power."

Report of the nuncio Goudanus.

As regarded the nobility, the report of Goudanus set forth that the queen had not a single Catholic councillor to support her. The State offices were entirely in the hands of the Protestants, and the few Catholic nobles were compelled by the violence and tyranny of the heretics to keep aloof from the Court and from official position of every kind. The Apostolic Briefs addressed by the Pope to the Catholic lords had to be delivered to them through a third person. The persecuting policy of the Reformers was exemplified in the case of the Bishop of Dunkeld, who was not permitted even at Easter (1562) to provide for the administration of the Catholic sacraments to his flock. Although this prelate had yielded to intimidation, considerable courage was evinced by the coadjutor-Bishop of Dunblane, who both by public discourse and private exhortation had confirmed many in the faith.[1] Most of the bishops, unhappily, were lacking in the qualities necessary to make a good defence against the enemy, while the Catholic preachers had neither the courage to provoke discussion nor the ability to conduct it. Such religious as were left were living concealed among their friends, and the secular priests did not

[1] This was Bishop William Chisholm, who in 1561 was appointed by Pius IV. coadjutor to his uncle of the same name, and succeeded him in 1564. He remained staunch to the Catholic faith, and was deprived of his see in consequence. Keith (*Scottish Bishops*, p. 180) says that he was afterwards Bishop of Vaison, in France, and died in old age a Carthusian at Grenoble.—Translator.

venture to wear the ecclesiastical dress. Gouda-nus attributes the success of the new doctrines in great measure to the abuses in presenting to benefices, together with the ignorance and low morality of the clergy; and he urges, as the only hope for the revival of Catholicism, the education of a new and better generation of priests, and the presence of a Catholic regent sufficiently powerful to protect the Catholic cause.[1]

Causes of the decay of the old religion.

The interesting narrative which we have been considering may justly inspire us with regret that no similar account of the condition of the Scottish Catholics at this time has been left to us by one of their own number. Such an account would, it cannot be doubted, contribute greatly to remove the prejudices which have hitherto so widely prevailed, not only against Queen Mary, but also against the episcopate of the ancient Church.

[1] *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, pp. 96-99. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND UNTIL THE DEPOSITION OF QUEEN MARY (1562-1567).

Huntly and the rival religious parties.

PROMINENT in wealth and influence among the Scottish nobility had been for many years the illustrious house of Huntly, whose chief at this time was George, the fourth Earl, and Chancellor of the kingdom under Mary Stuart. This powerful noble, who ruled the districts lying beyond the river Dee with almost kingly sway, had, as we have seen, played a somewhat dubious part in the long and bitter contest between the Congregation and the queen-regent, and had in consequence lost to some extent the confidence of Protestants and Catholics alike. Whilst he alienated the former by his refusal openly to espouse the cause of the Reformation, the latter could feel but little goodwill towards one who had been conspicuous by his absence from the eventful session of Parliament in August 1560, and who had never come forward to champion the rights of the ancient Church. The proposal made to the queen by

Leslie in the name of the Catholic nobility, that she should land at Aberdeen and place herself under the protection of the Catholic barons, had been, as we know, rejected; and although Huntly had since been intrusted by Mary with high office in her Government, he had yet never fully enjoyed her confidence. In 1562 the earldom of Moray, a title hitherto in the possession of Huntly, was bestowed by the queen upon his great rival, Lord James Stuart, Mary's half-brother. Shortly afterwards a feudal affray between Huntly's son, Sir John Gordon, and the house of Ogilvie, ended in the imprisonment of the former, and on his effecting his escape, in the further penalty of forfeiture. Suspicion fell on Huntly himself in connection with the affair, and it was at this juncture that the queen, desiring possibly to check any symptoms of rising disloyalty, determined on a progress through the north of Scotland.

Royal progress to the north of Scotland.

On the 11th of August 1562, Mary left Edinburgh, and on the 27th of the same month arrived at Aberdeen. Here she was met by Huntly, who prayed her to honour him by visiting his castle of Strathbogie. The queen, however, refused to accept the Earl's hospitality; and when, a few days later, Huntly and his countess met her at Rothiemay, and renewed their invitation, it was again declined.[1] On September 10 Mary arrived

[1] The queen slept on September 9 at Balquhain, the seat of Sir William Leslie, Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, a valiant Catholic gentle-

at Tarnaway, the principal seat of the earldom of Moray. Here her brother, Lord James, for the first time assumed the style of Earl of Moray, producing his patent for the title under the royal privy seal.[1] The queen then proceeded to Inverness, where the governor of the castle, Alexander Gordon, at first refused to admit her without the orders of his chief. He was, however, forced to surrender, and was instantly hanged.[2] The Earl of Huntly now tried every means to disarm the anger of his sovereign, and to regain her confidence. He ordered the keys of his various castles to be laid at her feet, but she refused to receive them.[3] Huntly was in fact powerless against the fatal influence of the queen's half-brother. Driven to desperation, he at length hastily summoned his vassals, and marched against Moray, who, secure in the authority of his royal sister, came to meet him with a force of 2000 men. The queen had returned from Inverness to Aberdeen, and the opposing parties met at Corrichie, about twelve miles from that city. After a brief encounter, Huntly was forced to surrender. He himself perished on the field, while his two younger sons

Encounter between Huntly and Moray.

Fall of the Huntlys.

man, who in 1560 had protected the cathedral of Aberdeen from the fury of the mob. See *Historical Records of Leslies*, vol. i. p. 113.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *State Papers*, Scotl., vol. vii., No. 74. Randolph to Cecil. (Aug. 31.)

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 76. Same to same. (Sept. 18.)

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 82. (Oct. 12.)

were captured and thrown into prison. The elder, Sir John Gordon, was immediately condemned and beheaded at Aberdeen; the younger, a lad of seventeen, was pardoned by the queen. Mary likewise refused to sanction the execution of the young Lord Gordon, heir of the house of Huntly; and on February 11, 1563, she caused him to be removed from Edinburgh to Dunbar, so as to be out of the reach of her half-brother's vengeance. Thus foiled of his aim, Moray sought to attain it by stratagem. Among a number of documents which he brought for the signature of the queen he had surreptitiously placed an order for Gordon's execution. Mary signed it, unsuspecting its contents, and Moray instantly despatched it to Dunbar. There, however, the governor, doubting the genuineness of the warrant, postponed its execution, and hurried to Edinburgh to consult the queen.[1] The fraud was thus brought to light; but although the life of the heir of Huntly was saved, he was not to escape scot-free. A Parliament held at Edinburgh a few months later declared him and his kinsman the Earl of Sutherland, together with no less than eleven barons of the house of Gordon, attainted, and their estates forfeited to the Crown.[2]

[1] Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 340-342.

[2] Knox, *Historie*, pp. 276-278. Keith (*Affairs*, p. 224 *seq.*) gives the proceedings against the Gordons from the Records of the Privy Council.

The retribution that had followed the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly had been swift and severe. Remembering that this was the first open revolt against the royal authority, we cannot hastily accuse the queen of undue harshness. Yet had she been fully aware of the hopes and plans cherished by some of her most trusted councillors, the Gordons might perhaps have escaped with a punishment less complete and crushing.[1]

Continued violence of the Protestants.

It might naturally have been supposed that the fall of this powerful house, which had long been held the principal support of the ancient Church in Scotland, would have in some measure checked the extravagances of the Reforming party, and toned down their fanatical violence. Such, however, was far from being the case. On December 13, 1562, Knox denounced from the pulpit, in his usual vehement language, the ignorance and vanity displayed by Christian princes, inveighing in particular against the queen's indulgence in the pastime of dancing. Mary summoned her self-constituted judge to an audience, receiving him in presence of the Earls of Moray and Morton, and of her secretary. To her accusation that he had exceeded the bounds of his text, and was endeavouring to bring upon her the contempt of her people, the preacher rejoined that his words had been falsely reported to her; and that as to dancing, he did not utterly condemn it except

Queen Mary and Knox.

[1] See Grub, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 130.

when indulged in to the neglect of duty, or in token of rejoicing at the calamities of God's people.[1] The queen mildly answered that his words were sharp enough, even when thus amended; but that if he would come to her and tell her what displeased him in her, she would be willing to hear him. "Madam," was Knox's reply, "I am called to a public function within the Church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and sin of all. I am not appointed to come to every man in particular, to show him his offence, for that labour were infinite. If your majesty pleaseth to frequent the public sermons, then I doubt not but that you shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in your majesty as in all others; or if your majesty will assign unto me a certain day and hour when it will please you to hear the form and substance of doctrine which is proposed in public to the Church of this realm, I will most gladly wait upon your majesty's pleasure, time, and place. But to come and wait upon your chamber-door, or elsewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whisper my mind in your majesty's ear, or to tell you what others think and speak of you, neither will my conscience, nor the vocation whereto God hath called me, suffer

[1] This was doubtless an allusion to the recent successes of the queen's relatives, the princes of Lorraine, against the Huguenots.—TRANSLATOR.

it."[1] To this burst of spiritual pride, as one of the queen's biographers terms it,[2] Mary replied, according to Knox himself, by "turning her back"; whereupon "the said John departed, with a reasonable merry countenance."[3]

Prosecution of Catholic ecclesiastics.

At Easter, 1563, the scattered Catholics of Scotland made some attempt to celebrate once more in public the solemnities of the festival. They were not, however, suffered to do so with impunity. Besides, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Abbot of Crossraguel, Malcolm Fleming, Prior of Whithorn, and the priest of Sanquhar, were apprehended for the crime of saying Mass. In order to nullify the effect of any petitions that might be presented to the queen for the relief of Catholics, the Congregation caused it to be announced that they would not complain against offenders to the sovereign in council, but would themselves execute the punishment appointed by God for idolaters.[4] It cannot be wondered at if Mary, in the growing difficulties and embarrassments of her position, hardly knew which way to turn. She again summoned the Reformer to an audience at the Castle of Lochleven, where she was then residing, and urged him to use his influence in tranquillising the religious animosities which prevailed throughout the country. The well-meant efforts of the queen, however, were of

[1] Knox, *Historie*, pp. 270, 271.
[2] Strickland, *Mary Stuart*, p. 337.
[3] *Historie*, p. 271.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

little avail against the reasoning of Knox, who cited various examples from the Old Testament to justify the slaughter of idolaters. On the following morning Knox again met the queen, who was out hawking near Kinross. She took the occasion to warn him against the Bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for the office of superintendent of the district of Dumfries.[1] Knox adds that Mary closed the interview by a promise to do what he required—namely, to summon all offenders against the laws of the realm, and let it be seen that she would minister justice.[2]

Penalties for saying and hearing Mass.

The fulfilment of the royal promise was not long delayed. On May 19, 1563, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Prior Fleming of Whithorn, and forty-six other persons, were brought to trial at Edinburgh, charged with hearing confessions and celebrating and assisting at Mass. Archbishop Hamilton was sentenced to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle; Prior Fleming, together with Kennedy of Blairquhan, David Kennedy,[3] Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir Thomas Tailzefeer, and four

[1] Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 134) calls him Bishop of Galloway. This is an error, as Knox distinctly mentions Caithness. He was Robert Stewart, nominated to the latter see in 1542, but never consecrated, or even ordained priest.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] This promise, however, as Miss Strickland observes (*Mary Stuart*, p. 354), could not bind the queen to shed blood unjustly.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Scions of the house of Cassillis. Abbot Quintin, writes Randolph to Cecil, May 20 (Keith, *Affairs*, p. 239), "should have been arraigned, but could not be taken."—TRANSLATOR.

priests, were committed to Edinburgh and Dunbar. We have other evidence that the proceedings against the clergy of the old faith were characterised by great severity. Randolph, writing to Sir William Cecil on the 3d of June, mentions that the Catholic priests of Scotland are flying to England for refuge.[1] The measures taken against them, we are told, were by the particular solicitation of John Knox.[2]

Opening of Mary's first Parliament.

On the 26th of May 1563, only a few days after the trial and imprisonment of the Catholic ecclesiastics, Queen Mary opened her first Parliament in person. The event was surrounded with all the pomp which befitted the solemnity of the occasion —the queen wore her royal robes and diadem, and was greeted by her subjects with enthusiastic shouts of applause, much to the disgust of Knox. "Such stinking pride of women," he exclaims, "as was seen at that Parliament was never seen before in Scotland."[3] The rancour of the Reformer was increased by the matrimonial proposals which were just then being submitted to Mary by the Catholic Powers of Europe;[4] and in a sermon before the

[1] *Cal. of State Papers* (Scotl.), vol. viii., No. 38.

[2] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 521.

[3] *Historie*, p. 284. Knox himself records the delighted cry of the populace—"God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly?"—TRANSLATOR.

[4] Philip II. of Spain had put forward his heir, Don Carlos, as Mary's suitor; Catherine de Medici favoured the pretensions of the young King of France; while the Emperor of Austria desired her hand for his son, the Archduke.—TRANSLATOR.

Scottish nobility he thus delivered himself: "My lords, I hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my lords, will I say (note the day, and bear witness after), whensoever the nobility of Scotland who profess the Lord Jesus assents that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do so far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm: yea, to bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your sovereign." [1] Mr Lawson comments in the following terms on Knox's own account of his behaviour on this occasion: "The author's mean reflections are too often far below the dignity he assumed to himself; and he makes but too evident his unquenchable thirst for reviling the queen, where he has no manner of foundation afforded him." [2]

Knox on the proposed royal marriage,

In the course of the same discourse in which he attacked the proposed marriage of the queen, Knox took the opportunity of defending the legality of the Parliament of 1560, which had imposed the Protestant religion on the people of Scotland. "Our religion," he said, "being commanded and so established by God, has been received within this realm by public parliament." [3]

and on the enactments of 1560.

[1] *Historie*, p. 285.
[2] Lawson's edition of Keith's *Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 199, note.
[3] Knox, *Historie*, p. 285.

The same thing, as Bishop Keith points out, could have been said in defence of the ancient form of religion a hundred years before; and as to the lawfulness of the Parliament, adds the same writer, "it might be so or not so; but in every event that Parliament was expressly tied down from doing anything as to religious matters, and consequently what that Parliament acted therein was altogether illegal. However, be the matter as it will, I suppose if the sanction of a Parliament had gone against Mr Knox, he would have been ready enough to exclaim against the power or right of a Parliament to appoint the form of religion." [1]

Knox was forthwith summoned to the queen's presence to answer for his words. Erskine of Dun accompanied him to the audience. "What have you to do," Mary asked him, "with my marriage? or what are you within the commonwealth?" "Albeit neither earl, lord, nor baron," was Knox's modest rejoinder, "yet hath God made me a profitable and useful member within it. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public,—whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent, that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance in the end shall do small comfort to yourself." [2] The queen at these harsh

[1] *Affairs*, p. 521, note.

[2] *Historie*, p. 286.

words could not restrain her tears, and desired Knox to leave her presence.

Scottish envoy to Rome.

The news of the apprehension of the Archbishop of St Andrews could not but cause surprise and indignation at Rome, and give rise to a feeling somewhat unfavourable to the Queen of Scots. It was probably with the object of removing any impression of the kind that Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane was commissioned about this time to carry to the Papal Court assurances of the loyalty and fidelity of the queen, as well as of the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, Huntly, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassillis, Erroll, and Caithness, and others of the nobility. Pius IV. received with joy the assurances conveyed to him by the Scottish ambassador, and in the month of September 1563 he wrote to the above-named nobles one by one, exhorting them to remain firm and faithful in their allegiance to the queen and to the Holy See.[1] Mary, constantly exposed as she was to the attacks of Knox, had in truth need of all the encouragement and consolation that she could obtain. The coarse vehemence of the Reformer appears, indeed, to have disgusted even his own party. He tells us himself that on the occasion mentioned

[1] Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1563, sec. cxiii., t. xv., pp. 417, 418. The Pope's words are: "Orator [Episcopus Dumblanensis] in sermonibus quos Nobiscum de rebus istius regni habuit . . . collaudavit apud Nos tuæ nobilitatis studium erga religionem Catholicam, devotionis erga Sedem Apostolicam constantiam, fidem præterea insignem erga Serenissimam Reginam commemoravit." — *Letter to the Earl of Lennox.*

above, when he left the queen's presence, having reduced her to tears by his violent language, no one except Lord Ochiltree would speak to him, or even acknowledge his presence. Knox thereupon turned upon the ladies of the Court, and denounced the splendour of their costume in his usual style of coarse invective. This proceeding may doubtless have been inspired by no other motive than the Reformer's pure zeal for Christian modesty and decorum; but a somewhat curious commentary on it is afforded by the fact that a few months afterwards (March 1564), Knox, who was then in his sixtieth year, married as his second wife a young girl of sixteen, the daughter of Lord Ochiltree.

Knox's second marriage.

The Assembly and the stipends of ministers.

In the summer of 1564 the General Assembly met at Edinburgh. Various complaints were made with reference to the miserable stipends which were doled out to the ministers. The Assembly, at its third meeting, had, as we have seen, assigned to them the sixth part of the confiscated Church property. They had anticipated, moreover, that the benefices which lapsed to the Crown by the gradual extinction of the old clergy would fall to their share; but this hope had been in great measure disappointed. The temporalities of Crossraguel, for example, on the death of Abbot Quintin Kennedy, were bestowed by the queen upon George Buchanan in October 1564.[1]

[1] See, however, *post*, p. 102, note.

Pius IV. and Queen Mary.

In the month of June of this year, Pius IV. forwarded to Mary the acts of the Council of Trent, which had closed its deliberations in December 1563. The Pontiff at the same time urged the queen to dismiss all heretics from high offices of State, and desired the two metropolitans of Scotland to see that the Tridentine decrees were duly enforced.[1] Unfortunately, neither prelate was now in a position to secure obedience to the Pope's commands. Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow was living in exile in Paris, while the Primate was still in prison. On the 20th of October 1564, Mary wrote to the Pope assuring him that she would do her utmost to procure the observance of the decrees of the Council, and the recovery of such of her subjects as had fallen away from the unity of the Church.[2]

Marriage negotiations.

Before many months had elapsed, the impending marriage of the queen gave rise to fresh negotiations with the Holy See. Since the return of Mary from France, matrimonial projects of various kinds had frequently been proposed to her; and the view of her wisest councillors that such a step was highly expedient, was consonant also with her own sentiments. The queen was willing, while following her own inclinations, to consult also the

[1] Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1564, sec. xlix., t. xv., p. 524.

[2] Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii., pp. 6, 7. "Nous estudierons de plus en plus pour l'accroissement et union de nostre mère la saincte Église, et y ferons obéyr tous nos sugectz, si Dieu par sa grace veut réduyre et anéantire les hérésies (come j'espère)."

approbation of Elizabeth, which was so important a factor in the question of the succession to the English throne. But her friendly sentiments were not reciprocated by the Queen of England, whose selfish and crafty policy it was to oppose every possible alliance of Mary with the great families of Europe, and who would have probably much preferred that the Scottish monarch should remain unmarried. The proposal made by Elizabeth, that Mary should give her hand to the Earl of Leicester, was rejected by the Queen of Scots, who had fixed her affections on her cousin, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. Darnley himself was of royal descent. His grandmother was Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., married first to James IV. of Scotland, and, secondly, to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus; while his mother, Margaret Douglas, was cousin to Queen Elizabeth. Next to Mary, Darnley was the nearest claimant to the throne of England; and by an alliance with him the queen looked to secure the succession to her children. He was now in his nineteenth year, and had come to the Scottish Court with the consent of Queen Elizabeth. That princess had repeatedly declared that she would never countenance the marriage of Mary to a foreigner, and it might therefore be hoped that there was nothing to prevent her concurrence in the alliance now proposed. Nevertheless she protested against it; and it was likewise strongly

Darnley chosen by the queen.

opposed by Moray, the half-brother of Mary. The Protestant party doubtless feared that their influence might suffer by the queen selecting a Catholic consort. In truth, looking at the deplorable events which so soon followed the union, it may well be regretted that Mary bestowed her hand on one so inferior to herself in morals and intellect.

In the course of the summer of 1565, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, repaired to Rome in order to obtain the necessary dispensation for the marriage of the royal pair, they being related within the prohibited degrees. He returned to Edinburgh with the document on the 22d of July, on which day the banns were duly published in the church of St Giles; and on the 29th of the same month, at six o'clock in the morning, the marriage was celebrated in the chapel at Holyrood by Henry Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, according to the ritual of the Catholic Church. After the ceremony, Mary, who still wore her widow's weeds, assisted at the celebration of Mass: Darnley, however, left the chapel in company with the Protestant lords.[1] On the following day the queen caused her consort to be proclaimed King of Scots at the market-cross in Edinburgh.

Marriage of Mary to Darnley.

[1] From a contemporary Italian document, addressed to Cosmo de Medici, and published by Labanoff (*Recueil de Lettres*, tom. vii. p. 60), it appears that Mary had been secretly married to Darnley at Stirling, early in April. This is confirmed by the letters of Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, to Catherine de Medici, quoted by Teulet.—TRANSLATOR.

It was not until three weeks after the royal marriage that Pius IV. announced to the cardinals in consistory that he had granted the necessary dispensation, and that the king and queen had promised to defend the Catholic religion as far as lay in their power.[1] Mary, nevertheless, appeared desirous of tranquillising the Reformed party, and of removing any impression which might prevail that her marriage to a Catholic was likely to result in the forcible suppression of Protestantism. She had accordingly caused proclamation to be made, on the 12th of July, at every market-cross in Scotland, "certifying and assuring all her good subjects that as they, nor any of them, have hitherto been molested in the quiet using of their religion and conscience, so shall they not be disquieted in that behalf in any time to come; but behaving themselves honestly as good subjects, shall find her majesty, their good prince, willing to do them justice, and to show them favour and clemency without innovation or alteration in any

Proclamation of toleration.

[1] Raynald, *Annal.*, ann. 1565. "Delegit illa Henricum Darlœum juvenem forma præstantem, regiaque stirpe satum, et catholicæ religionis studio flagrantem (?), qui cum affinitate sanguinis Reginam contingeret, postulatum est utriusque nomine a Pio Quarto Pontifice, ut legem canonicam contrariam ad eorum gratiam solveret, quorum votis assensit Pontifex, ac medio Augusto in Cardinalium senatu rem promulgavit, ut referunt acta consistorialia: Decima septima Augusti. Fecit verbum de matrimonio Reginæ Scotiæ cum Anglo quodam affini suo, et dixit, dispensationem se ad illius petitionem concessisse, et illos promittere se religionis catholicæ defensores pro viribus futuros esse."

sort."[1] The terms of this proclamation, rightly understood, are in no way irreconcilable with the assurance given to the Pope. The power and authority to which the professors of the new religion had now attained, of course rendered the defence of Catholic rights, in the full canonical sense, an impossibility; and this was recognised by the Pope himself.[2] Under the circumstances, all that the royal influence could hope to achieve was to gather together the sorry remains that had been spared in the overthrowal of the ancient Church, with a view to some sort of reconstruction of the shattered edifice. In guaranteeing to her subjects freedom of conscience, Mary displayed a magnanimity of which contemporary Protestant rulers did not even dream. That among "all her good subjects" she desired to include not only the adherents of the Reformation, but also those who had remained true to the ancient faith, hardly requires demonstration. The Protestant party,

[1] Proclamation of "assurance touart the state of religion," July 12, 1565.—(Regist. Secr. Concil. Quoted by Robertson, *Statuta*, p. clxix.) The queen's answer to the General Assembly (June—Dec. 1565) is couched in similar terms: "Praying all her loving subjects, seeing they have had experience of her goodness, that scho neither hes in tymes bypast nor yet means heirafter to prease the conscience of any man, but that they may worship God in sick sort as they are persuadit to be best, that they also will not prase her to offend her awin conscience."—*Book of Univ. Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii. p. 328. Acta Consistor., Oct. 12, 1565. "The Pope describes the state of Scotland: 'Regem, Reginam, Catholicos missam cupere, hereticos adversari; eorum principes perfugisse atque ab Angliæ regina defendi.'"

on the other hand, claimed liberty of conscience only for their own followers, refusing it altogether to Catholics, as promoters of idolatry. It was against this that Queen Mary protested in her famous letter to the General Assembly, in which she demanded from her subjects the same freedom in matters of conscience and religion which she had granted to them. As for the share of Darnley in the promise made to the Pope of defending the Catholic Church, it was in his mouth little more than an empty phrase.

Intrigues among the nobles.

The marriage of the queen to Darnley afforded to the disaffected Scottish nobles a pretext for fresh intrigues against their lawful sovereign. Mary's half-brother, the Earl of Moray, saw the waning of his own influence in Darnley's rise, while the Hamiltons had long been at feud with the house of Lennox. Moray and his followers had already set on foot a conspiracy with the object of undermining the queen's authority, and had entered into negotiations with Elizabeth, on the ground of the supposed danger that menaced the Protestant religion in Scotland. On the 10th of July 1565, they had received the consoling assurance that the Queen of England would protect them against all attacks of their enemies, so long as they laboured for the preservation of religion and friendship between the two kingdoms.[1] How devoid of foundation was the pretended fear

[1] The Queen to Randolph. Printed by Keith, *Affairs*, p. 296.

of the weakening of Protestant influence, is sufficiently evidenced by the statement which Moray and Lethington had themselves made to Cecil on the 13th of July in the previous year, in which they declared that even if Lennox allied himself with the most powerful person in the State, he would be unable to shake the national religion from the firm foundation on which it rested.[1] The assurances given by Elizabeth do not appear to have satisfied the rebel lords; for we next find them transmitting to the English queen, through Robert Melvil, a document entitled "Informations to be given to the Queen's Majesty, in favour of the Church of Christ, now begun to be persecuted in the chief members of the same." Tytler[2] has pointed out that the title of this paper was not less misleading than its contents were inaccurate, there being no persecution whatever going on in the country at the time. "The cause," so runs the document, "why our destruction is sought is, first, the zeal that we bear to the maintenance of the true religion; and, secondly, the care that we have to redress the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth."[3]

Among the adherents of Moray were the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, The Protestant lords in

[1] State Paper Office. Quoted by Tytler (*Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 202).

[2] *Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iii. p. 210.

[3] MS. State Paper Office. The document is dated Sept. 22, 1565.

arms against the queen.

and Rothes, Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, Kirkaldy of Grange, and other barons—Moray himself, of course, being the leading spirit. Extensive preparations were made on either side; and the country again witnessed, as it had already done under the rule of Mary of Guise, the Reformed party in arms against the legitimate monarchy, under the cloak of zeal for religion. The Catholics were in truth, of the two, rather the persecuted party, since against them alone the penal laws were in force. Many of their bishops and priests were languishing in prison or in exile, and they could only practise their religion, so to speak, in the catacombs. The great majority of the nation remained faithful to their sovereign. Mary appeared in person at the head of her troops, and the insurgent forces were compelled to disperse. Parliament was summoned for the trial of the rebel lords. The Duke of Chatelherault was pardoned, on condition of his withdrawing to France; but the others were declared liable to all the penalties of high treason.

Collapse of the insurgent forces.

Knox at St Giles'.

During the course of these events Knox remained at his post in Edinburgh, denouncing the "regimen of godless princes" from his pulpit in St Giles'. It was sufficiently clear at whom his fulminations were aimed, even although he refrained from mentioning names. He could indeed hardly indulge in direct personal invective, considering that among his hearers was the very indi-

vidual he was attacking, namely, Darnley himself. On the 19th of August 1565, the king attended the service at St Giles', on which occasion Knox, preaching from the text, "O Lord our God, other lords than Thou have ruled over us," declared that to punish the sins and ingratitude of the people, God had set boys and women to govern them.[1] In consequence of these remarks, and of the allusions, more pointed than polite, which he made to Ahab and Jezebel, Knox was summoned before the Council. He asserted in his defence (so at least he tells us himself[2]) that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the Word of God would permit him. As a sign of the royal displeasure, a sentence of suspension from preaching for two or three weeks was passed upon him.

The validity of Catholic baptism discussed in the Assembly.

In the month of December 1565, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh. A question was raised in its fourth session, which shows pretty clearly the intolerant spirit that prevailed towards everything Catholic. The point discussed

[1] Knox relates (*Historie*, p. 320) that "the king was so moved at this sermon that he would not dine; and being troubled with great fury, he past in the afternoon to the hawking." The *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 81) quaintly states that "John Knox preachit, whereat he [the king] was crabbit, and caused discharge the said John of his preachings."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Historie*, p. 321.

was whether baptism administered by a Catholic priest was valid. Among the Assembly there were undoubtedly some who denied this, and who seemed to have forgotten, or to ignore, the fact that they had themselves received the sacrament from the hand of ministers of the ancient faith. The validity of Catholic baptism was finally conceded; but it was at the same time ordered that those so baptised should, on reaching the proper age, be instructed in the true religion, and should openly renounce the errors of Popery.

Relaxation in the administration of the penal laws.

By the unsuccessful revolt of the leading Protestant nobles, and the consequent penalties which they incurred, the Reformed cause had lost, at least temporarily, some of its chief supporters. Under these circumstances, it was natural that the queen should entertain the idea of some relaxation in the severity of the laws against her co-religionists. Some of the Catholic nobility openly attended Mass in Holyrood Chapel, and sermons were regularly preached there with the queen's approval. On the festival of Christmas Darnley attended at matins, and heard Mass "devoutly on his knees."[1] The anticipation of Mary that measures might be taken, in the Parliament which met in the following

[1] Randolph to Cecil. *State Papers* (Scotl.), vol. xi. No. 103, Dec. 25, 1565. According to Randolph, the queen herself sat up half the night at cards.—TRANSLATOR.

spring, for the settlement of the religious question, is clear from the tenor of her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, dated April 2, 1566.[1] The murder of Rizzio, however, and the consequent change in the situation of affairs, prevented her hopes from being realised.

The queen and the vacant sees.

In the meantime, Mary zealously embraced every occasion of supporting and strengthening the ancient faith. She especially exerted herself in order to obtain for the vacant sees the nomination of men whose character for learning and unblemished morals would be sufficient warrant for their worthy discharge of the episcopal office. No properly constituted bishop of the old Church had conformed to Protestantism; but certain bishops-elect, as Robert Steuart of Caithness—Adam Bothwell, who had for several years held the see of Orkney—and Alexander Gordon, the bishop-designate of Galloway, as well as James Hamilton, nominated to the bishopric of Argyle in 1558,—had abandoned the Catholic faith, and given themselves and their churches to the Protestant cause. Two sees were at this time vacant: John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, having died in 1558; while Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and President of the Court of Session, had expired on the 2d of January 1565,

Apostate bishops-elect.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 331. "The spirituall estate being placed therein in the ancient Maner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld Religion."

at Paris, whither he had gone to obtain medical advice. On the 13th of November the queen appointed John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, and brother of the deceased prelate, to the presidency of the Court of Session, and he was shortly afterwards nominated Bishop of Brechin. The elevation of Sinclair was warmly welcomed by the Scottish Catholics. An excellent canonist and theologian, of unexceptionable life and remarkable zeal for the faith, he had long laboured untiringly in opposition to Protestantism, alike by the eloquence of his sermons and the affectionate earnestness of his exhortations to such as had erred from the truth. The moderation and charity which he had invariably displayed had even exposed him to the charge of being favourable to the new doctrines. The high esteem in which he was held by the queen had already been evidenced by her selecting him to solemnise her marriage with Darnley. The preconisation of Sinclair to the see of Brechin took place at Rome on the 7th of September 1565, the Pope permitting him to retain the deanery of Restalrig.[1] Unhappily, the new bishop died

John Sinclair, Bishop of Brechin.

His death.

[1] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 138. "Die 7° Idus Septembris 1565, referente me Cardinale Camerario, ecclesiæ Brechin, in regno Scotiæ, vacanti per obitum sui episcopi, præfectus fuit Joannes Sinclar, presbyter S. Andreæ dioc., et ad preces Reginæ Scotiæ fuit ei facta gratia quoad omnes, cum retentione decanatus Collegiatæ ecclesiæ de Restalrig, dictæ dioc."

Extensive faculties were at the same time granted to the newly appointed prelate, and to the Bishop of Dunblane, in accordance

in April of the following year, and with him ended the succession of Catholic bishops of the see. A month later, through the influence of the Earl of Argyle, a young man named Alexander Campbell was nominated to the bishopric, but he never received consecration. He conformed to the Protestant doctrines, and, as was no doubt expected by his patron Argyle, alienated to him

with the proposals which had been brought forward at the Council of Trent.—(*Cod. Barberin.*, xvi. 102; Libro delle cose trattate in Concilio de Trento nel Pontificato di Pio IV. fol. 179.) The faculties were as follows:—

(Facultates in Regno Scotiæ valde necessariæ a SS. D.N. obtinendæ pro totius illius regni sublevatione et animarum infinitorum in illo regno salute pro R.P.D. Wilh. Epo. Dunbl. et Joann. Epo. Brechinen.)

Absolvendi ab homicidio, heresi, simonia, apostasia, sacrilegio, irregularitate, et aliis delictis quibuscumque et Sedi Apostolicæ reservatis.

Dispensandi cum quibusdam religiosis, etiam mendicantibus ordinis S. Francisci, Divi Augustini, et aliorum ordinum, ut possint ad beneficia ecclica curam animarum habentia assumi cum dispensatione de habitu sæculari, quoniam alii ministri catholici non inveniuntur.

Indulgendi eisdem et aliis religiosis ad deferendum habitum subtus, donec religio restituta fuerit, cum absolutione abjectionis tempore persecutionis præteritæ.

Dispensandi super gradibus prohibitis in 3° et 4° ignoranter contractis tantum.

Alienandi bona immobilia beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum in emphyteusim perpetuam sub pensione, censu, vel canone annuo quinque ducatorum tantum non excedentium, et alienationes jam factas confirmandi.

Delegandi Prælatum, seu alium in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum idoneum, qui in eorum absentia possit supradictis facultatibus uti.

Petuntur hujusmodi facultates ad tempus tantum, donec pro reformatione generali ecclesiæ Scoticanæ jam pene extinctæ mittatur aliquis Sedis Apostolicæ legatus.

John Leslie, Bishop of Ross.

the property of the see. To the vacant see of Ross, Mary nominated the distinguished theologian and canonist John Leslie, Official of Aberdeen. Leslie was born in 1527, and in 1550 became a prebendary of Aberdeen, where his zeal and ability soon brought him into prominence. He belonged to the number of those clergy who, as we have seen, had in 1559 proposed to the bishops measures for the reformation of clerical discipline. He had disputed against Knox with ardour and success, and had been intrusted, in token of the confidence felt in him by the Catholic party, with a mission to the queen in France. At the return of the latter to Scotland, Leslie was with the suite that accompanied her. In January 1564 he was named a judge of the Court of Session, and a year later he received the Abbey of Lindores *in commendam*, and was appointed a Privy Councillor. He was now named to the vacant see of Ross. No one better deserved these successive honours than Leslie, who proved himself one of the queen's truest servants, and not only manfully upheld her cause with speech and pen, but also rendered most excellent service to the Church during the course of his long life. He was preconised to the bishopric on April 22, 1565, receiving at the same time a dispensation on account of his having been born out of wedlock.[1]

[1] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 147. "Die 22° Aprilis

Pope Pius IV. died on December 9, 1565, and was succeeded, after a conclave lasting three weeks, by the saintly Cardinal Michael Ghislerio, who took the title of Pius V. On January 31, 1566, the Queen of Scots despatched to the new Pontiff a letter of congratulation, in which she besought his prayers, counsel, and assistance for herself and her realm. Her enemies, she informs him, are partly beyond the seas, and partly in her power; but their fury and desperation will probably drive them to extreme measures.[1] The bearer of the despatch was Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane, whom the queen repeatedly urged to implore the aid of the Pope.[2] On April 11, 1566, the bishop rendered homage to Pius in the name of the King and Queen of Scots. The

Accession of St. Pius V.

The Bishop of Dunblane envoy to Rome.

1575, referente De Pellene, S.D.N. providit, ad supplicationem Ser^mæ Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ, ecclesiæ Rossens., vacanti per obitum Henrici, de persona Joannis Lesley. Ipsumque illi in Episcopum præfecit, &c. Cum dispensatione super defectu natalis," &c.—Barberini.

[1] Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, t. vii. p. 8. "Beatissime Pater . . . nobis fidelem ac de Religione Christiana probe meritum reverendum in Christo patrem Gulielmum episcopum Dumblanensem, legatum, oratorem, ac procuratorem nostrum cum mandatis ad Sanctitatem Tuam mittendum curavimus, tum ut illius electioni atque ad summum Pontificatus culmen promotioni nostro nomine congratularetur, tum etiam ut, post humillima oscula sanctorum pedum, debitum nostrum obsequium ac cum prompta voluntate obedientiam eidem præsentaret, obnixeque rogaret ut in suis sanctis sacrificiis, orationibus, consiliis, auxiliis spiritualibus simul et temporalibus miserum quidem adhuc et infelicem regni statum juvet. Nondum enim eo adhuc res devenerunt quin hisce Sanctitatis Tuæ fretæ consiliis et auxiliis optima quæque sperare et possumus et debeamus."

[2] A letter from Mary to the bishop is given in Appendix I.

address delivered on the occasion of the Scottish envoy will be found in the Appendix.[1] It is taken from a very imperfect manuscript preserved in the Barberini Library in Rome.

Pius V. dismissed the ambassador with the assurance that he would not only himself assist the Queen of Scots to the best of his ability, but would endeavour to interest in her cause other Catholic princes. In an interview with Thiepoli, the Venetian ambassador, he took occasion to praise the fidelity of Mary to the Catholic religion,[2] and he addressed to her on July 16 a fatherly letter, in which he assured her of his earnest desire to afford her his support and protection.[3] At the same time he despatched as nuncio to Scotland the Bishop of Mendovi, afterwards Cardinal Laureo,[4] with a subsidy of a hundred thousand crowns.[5] The nuncio set out on his

Bishop Laureo nuncio to Scotland.

[1] Appendix II.

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii. p. 329. Letter from Paul Thiepoli to the Duke of Venice, May 4, 1566. The Pope, he says, "laudò poi in estremo la Regina di Scotia, che per diffender la fede Cattolica havesse posta in pericolo la corona et vita propria." In the ambassador's letter the Scottish bishop figures as "il vescovo d'Omblan."—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Concœus, *Vita Mariæ Stuartæ* (ed. Jebb.), vol. ii. p. 58. "Optassemus quoque vita nostra et sanguine tibi succurrere. . . . Nunc quoniam ob ingravescentem ætatem, ac tot immensas occupationes, quibus pro universa republica christiana detinemur, in Scotiam ire non possumus, mittendum duximus venerabilem et charum fratrem nostrum Montisregalis episcopum."

[4] Cardella, *Memoria Storiche dei Cardinali*, vol. v. p. 209.

[5] *Archiv. Vatican. Varior. Politic.*, xvi. 297. *Parelipomena Leslæi.* Father Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, p. cxlii, note) gives the amount as

journey northward, but delayed in Paris in order to await instructions from the queen. Mary, writing to Pius V. on July 17, expressed her eagerness for the arrival of the nuncio.[1] Bishop Laureo, however, never set foot in Scotland. He came no farther than Paris; and after hearing an account of the state of religion in Scotland from the Jesuit Father Hay, who had just returned thence, he retraced his steps to Rome, leaving his mission unfulfilled.[2] While the nuncio appeared to attribute this failure to the lukewarmness of the queen, Mary on her side reproached him with not having come to Scotland when she invited him.[3] As a matter of fact, the queen might well doubt the possibility of protecting the papal envoy, even under the shelter of her own palace, from the violence of her lawless nobles, who had not scrupled to assassinate her secretary before her very eyes. The Earl of Moray, according to Leslie, was at the head of the party who opposed the coming of the nuncio to Scotland.

Failure of his mission.

David Rizzio, a Piedmontese of humble origin,

David Rizzio.

150,000 crowns, but see Appendix III. for the Latin text.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Labanoff, *Lettres*, tom. i. pp. 355, 356; tom. vii. pp. 11, 12.

[2] For Father Hay's report of his mission, see Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, p. cxlii *seq.* (Letter to St Francis Borgia, General of the Society.)

[3] In the queen's instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane, her envoy to France in 1567, she charges him to explain to the Cardinal of Lorraine her apparent remissness in the matter of the nuncio's visit to Scotland.—Labanoff, *Lettres*, pp. 43, 44.

whose linguistic and musical attainments had brought him into notice, had entered the service of Mary during her residence at the French Court. In Edinburgh he held the position of her private secretary, and in that capacity conducted her extensive correspondence with her numerous friends in Italy, Spain, and France. His position gave him considerable influence, a fact which was deeply resented by many of the Scottish nobles, who, moreover, ascribed to him Mary's continued refusal to pardon the exiled lords. He was also widely believed to entertain plans tending to frustrate the work of the Reformation, and to restore the ancient form of religion. Measures were in consequence concerted to remove the intruder by violence, and it was determined to execute the project before the 12th of March, the date fixed for the trial of Moray and his associates. Among the conspirators were the Chancellor, the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and in particular Darnley, who, incapable himself of taking any leading part in public affairs, viewed with the utmost jealousy the influence exercised by Rizzio. The plot was also approved by Lennox, Moray, Argyle, Maitland of Lethington, and Kirkaldy of Grange. The Earl of Bedford, and Randolph, the English agent, were likewise privy to it, and communicated it to Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, and Cecil.[1]

Plot against his life.

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), March 6, 1566, Bedford; Randolph to

In the beginning of March 1566, Edinburgh was filled with people, who had come to assist at the religious services held on the occasion of the general fast ordered by the Assembly. The subjects selected for the sermons were the destruction of Oreb and Zeb, the death of Haman, and similar topics. On Thursday, the 7th instant, the Lords of the Articles were chosen in the customary manner, and all was in readiness for the attainder of Moray. Two days later the queen's own apartment was the scene of the bloody deed which the conspirators—among them being Mary's weak and ambitious consort—did not shrink from perpetrating in her very presence. Dragged from his place of refuge, behind the tapestry with which the walls of the queen's supper-chamber were hung, the unhappy Rizzio was ruthlessly butchered. In the ensuing tumult a Dominican named Black —an exemplary priest and staunch upholder of the ancient faith—also met his death. The queen was closely confined in Holyrood; and on Sunday Darnley issued a proclamation ordering the Lords to quit the capital forthwith. The return of Moray to Edinburgh on the same evening shows the close bond of union that existed between him and the conspirators. Darnley's share in the crime seems to have been prompted by his am-

Sermons in Edinburgh.

Murder of Rizzio, and of Friar Black.

Cecil, with details of the intended plot.—See Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 218.

bition to secure the crown-matrimonial,[1] which, however, Mary had herself, if the narrative of her secretary Nau is to be believed, already endeavoured to obtain for him.[2]

Intrigues against the queen.

Rizzio having fallen, the plans of the conspirators were now directed against Mary herself, whom it was designed to depose and imprison for life. Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, in his already mentioned address to Pope Pius V. on April 11, 1566, graphically describes the events which had just taken place in Scotland.[3] The queen, it was declared, on the first attempt to escape, would be cut to pieces. How deeply she felt the gross injustice done to her was shown by her continued refusal to pardon the rebel lords. She never, however, lost her presence of mind, and succeeded in winning over her weak consort to her side, although his repentance, judging from the details given in the narrative of Nau, seems to have been little better than hypocrisy. Mary, however, with his assistance effected her flight in safety to the castle of Dunbar, where the Archbishop of St Andrews, now freed from captivity, the Earl of

[1] This would have secured to Darnley the privileges of royalty for life, and it was to Rizzio's influence that he ascribed his not yet having attained it. The title of king had been already bestowed on him.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, p. 219. "Qui ay, comme vous scavez, contre l'advis de ceulx que vous affectez maintenant, poursuivist pour vous et instamment requis d'eulx ce que vous avez prétendu d'emporter par leurs moyens et meschans pratiques."

[3] See Appendix II.

Huntly, who had been restored to his title and estates, the Earls of Bothwell and Athole, and other nobles, rallied to her side. The queen could now, at the head of a loyal and numerous force, await with calmness the next move of the rebel lords. These, indeed, found themselves deceived in their hopes, for the discomfited members of the Congregation showed little disposition to fight for the cause. Mary issued a writ of treason against Morton, Lethington, Ruthven, Lindsay, and their accomplices, and advanced to Edinburgh at the head of eight thousand men. The conspirators took to flight, some seeking safety in England, others in the west of Scotland. On the 1st of April 1566, the queen wrote to the Bishop of Dunblane announcing this fact, and urging him to enlist the aid and sympathy of the Holy Father.[1] Knox himself, who had faced his sovereign so boldly whilst he enjoyed the protection of her half-brother Moray, now thought it prudent to make his escape. He fled to Ayrshire, and "in agony of spirit," says Tytler,[2] "buried himself in the friendly recesses of Kyle." According to the historian just quoted, this action on Knox's part can only be attributed to his complicity in the plot for Rizzio's murder—a complicity known to the queen, who, however indulgent she had hitherto shown herself to his obstinacy and

Discomfiture of the rebels.

Flight of Knox from Edinburgh.

His complicity in Rizzio's murder.

[1] Appendix I.

[2] *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 223.

rudeness, could henceforth regard him only as a blood-stained hypocrite. Knox did not venture again to set foot in Edinburgh until the queen had been dethroned and was a prisoner at Loch-leven. Two lists are preserved in the State Paper Office, containing the names of those who were privy to Rizzio's murder: of these, one [1] includes the names of Knox and Craig (his fellow-preacher); the other [2] does not. Whether the second and later category represents the result of more accurate inquiry as to the share of the two preachers in the conspiracy, as Mr Grub seems to suppose,[3] or is not rather a mere attempt to exculpate them, on no solid grounds, may be considered an open question. It is not disputed, at all events, that Knox himself described the deed in the following language: "That great abuse of this commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave, Davie, was justly punished, the 9th of March, in the year of God 1565, for abusing of the commonwealth, and for his other villany which we list not to express, by the counsel and hands of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, Patrick Lord Lindsay, and the Lord Ruthven, with other assisters in their company, who all, for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now un-

[1] Preserved in the State Paper Office, attached to a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated March 21, 1565 (-66).—TRANSLATOR.

[2] A letter from Bedford and Randolph to the English Council, March 27.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 150.

worthily left of their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile."[1]

Fresh plots against the queen.

The queen had succeeded in driving the murderers of Rizzio from the kingdom, and thus to some extent in vindicating the majesty of the law. But fresh plots were now concocted against her by her half-brother, newly returned to the capital, and by his unworthy associates. Mary and Darnley were to be swept from their path;[2] and in order to prevent all possibility of the government being peacefully carried on, and the strife of parties being appeased, steps were now taken to sow dissension between the queen and her consort. It was represented to Mary that Darnley had been the most prominent actor in the Holyrood tragedy; and in order to remove from her mind all doubt on this point, the list with the names of the conspirators was shown to her. The knowledge which the queen thus acquired naturally caused her the deepest pain,[3] and she seems to have for a time entertained the idea of abandoning the crown and retiring to

Difficult position of Mary.

[1] Quoted by Grub, *loc. cit.* Even Knox's faithful panegyrist, Dr M'Crie, allows that the Reformer "expressed his satisfaction at the event, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators." *Life*, pp. 253, 254.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See the testimony of Nau (*Mary Stewart*, p. 218). "Car à la vérité leur principal desseing estoit, et principallement du dict Murray . . . de deposséder du royaume tous les deux, afin de s'en approprier."

[3] "So many great sighs would she give, that it was a pity to hear her."—Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 74.

France. Had Mary, at this crisis of her life, been supported by a husband worthy of the name, she might have triumphed over all the difficulties which beset her. Linked as she was to the dissolute Darnley, a man devoid both of religion and of conscience, given up to unworthy pleasures, and the creature of his own depraved and wayward impulses, her own fall could only be a question of time.

Accession to the Protestant cause.

In the summer of 1566 the Reformed party gained an accession to their cause in the person of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, kinsman of the renowned Abbot Quintin Kennedy of Crossraguel.[1] He had married a sister of Lord Glammis, and it was by her persuasion that he embraced Protestantism. His powerful influence was henceforth exerted towards the spread of the new doctrines in the hitherto Catholic district of Carrick, where Knox tells us that he "promised to maintain the doctrines of the Gospel."[2] In their antagonism to the teaching of the ancient Church, the Scottish Reformers went beyond the mother Church of

[1] In February 1566 (probably immediately previous to his marriage) the Earl had received a grant of Crossraguel from the queen and Darnley, free of rent. Seven months before, the abbey had been bestowed *in commendam* upon Allan Stewart, a secular priest; and previous to this again, its revenues had been charged with an annual pension of five hundred pounds in favour of George Buchanan, the historian. For a history of the resulting complications, which reached their climax in the "roasting of the abbot" in 1570, see *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. *passim*.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Historie of the Reformation*, p. 333.

Geneva itself. An assembly of superintendents and ministers met at St Andrews in September 1566, to consider the Confession of Faith drawn up by the Swiss Protestants, and submitted by them to their Scottish brethren for approval. The answer sent to Beza was to the effect that they agreed with the Confession in all points, except so far as regarded the keeping of the festivals of Christmas, the Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, and the sending of the Holy Ghost; "for," adds Knox, "only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland."[1] Scotland and Geneva.

The birth of a prince, of whom Mary was safely delivered on the 19th of June 1566, offered fresh occasion for the Congregation to manifest their religious zeal. The baptism of the child was, contrary to the usual Catholic custom, delayed for many months, owing to the difficulty in deciding whether the sacrament was to be administered with the rites of the ancient or the Reformed religion. On the 9th of October, Mary wrote to inform the Pope that she had obtained with much difficulty the consent of the nobility to the Catholic baptism of her son, adding the expression of her hope that this would be a beginning of the proper administration of the sacraments in the kingdom. Two months more, however, elapsed before the performance of the ceremony. Mary was meanwhile detained at Jedburgh, whither she had gone Birth of Prince James.

[1] Knox, *Historie*, p. 334.

Serious illness of the queen.

to hold the assize, by a serious illness, accompanied by symptoms which seemed to point to the administration of poison.[1] She prepared herself for death with great devotion, assisted by Bishop Leslie of Ross, renewed her profession of firm adherence to the Catholic faith, and provided for the government of the realm and for the safety and education of her infant son.[2] Contrary to all expectation, however, she recovered from her malady, and at once gave directions for the public and solemn baptism of the young prince.

The prince baptised a Catholic.

The ceremony was performed on December 19, 1566, in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling Castle, by the Archbishop of St Andrews, assisted by several other prelates, among whom were the Bishops of Ross, Dunblane, and Brechin, and Prior Fleming of Whithorn. The prince received the names of Charles James, his sponsors being King Charles IX. of France, the Duke of Saxony, and the Queen of England, who were represented by proxies. Darnley was conspicuous by his absence, having taken violent offence at Queen Elizabeth's

[1] Nau appears to be the only authority for this statement, which he makes in a very detailed and precise manner. See *Mary Stewart*, p. cxxxi.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, pp. cxxxvii-cxlii. "Declaration of the Will of Mary, Queen of Scotland, during the time of her extreme malady, with the prayers and exhortations made by her." From the original in Edinburgh University Library. The document is confirmed by a letter from Father Hay, S.J., to St Francis Borgia, November 6, 1566, also printed by Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, pp. cxlii-cxlv).

strict commands that no member of her embassy should address or recognise him as king.[1] The Countess of Argyle, who represented Elizabeth on the occasion, is said to have been obliged to do penance afterwards for her backsliding in assisting at a Popish sacrament. The Earl of Bedford, the English ambassador, and the Scotch Protestant lords, remained outside the chapel until the ceremony was concluded. It was the last occasion on which was witnessed the public and solemn ceremonial of the Catholic Church in Scotland.

Rizzio's murderers pardoned.

At the instance of the Earls of Moray and Bothwell, Mary on the 23d of December 1566 granted a pardon to Lord Lindsay, the Earl of Morton, and their accomplices in the murder of Rizzio.[2] By this act of condonation the queen exhibited a certain compliance, not to say weakness of character, which was further illustrated by her policy in regard to the religious questions which were distracting her realm. While charging Bishop Laureo of Mondovi, the papal nuncio,

[1] *Mary Stewart*, p. cxlvii. From an anonymous life of Mary in the British Museum. The same authority states that Elizabeth forbade her delegates to be present at the actual christening, if it were performed "with papistical ceremonies." If her commands were obeyed (as is probable), the Countess of Argyle could hardly with justice have been afterwards required to do penance, as mentioned in the text.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Two persons, however, were exempted from the general pardon —George Douglas, who had stabbed Rizzio in the queen's presence, and Ker of Faudonside, who had held meantime a cocked pistol to her breast.—TRANSLATOR.

in April 1567, to assure his Holiness of her unswerving fidelity to the Catholic faith,[1] she gave her sanction, within the same week, to a law which removed all existing penalties from adherents of the Reformation, and completely freed Protestants from the authority and jurisdiction of Rome.[2] A month afterwards the royal approval was extended to an Act of the Privy Council, based on the legislation of the fatal year 1560, and prohibiting the practice of the Catholic religion altogether.[3] We shall see a little later how the queen's nuptials with Bothwell were celebrated according to the Protestant rite.

Consistorial jurisdiction restored to Archbishop Hamilton.

In view of these facts, it is difficult to explain the motive that induced Mary, on the 23d of December 1566, to restore (if we may use the term) to the Primate, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, his full consistorial jurisdiction. As the result of the statutes passed in August 1560, establishing the Reformed religion, the bishops had lost that jurisdiction, and the courts of their officials had been closed. Only in a few cases did the episcopal authority continue to be exercised. Thus we find, on April 1, 1582, the Archbishop

Instances of the exercise of episcopal authority after 1560.

[1] Labanoff, *Lettres*, tom. ii. p. 20. "Je vous prierai me tenir en la bonne grâce de sa saincteté, et ne le laysser persuader au contrayre de la devotion que j'ay de mourir en la foy catholique et pour le bien de son eglise, laquelle je prie à Dieu croître et maintenir."

[2] *Acts Parl. Scotl.*, vol. ii. pp. 548, 549.

[3] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 387. The Act was entitled "The Quenis Majesties Revocatioun of certaine Letteris."

of St Andrews issuing a commission to the sub-chapter and two canons of Glasgow Cathedral to inquire into the marriage of Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, and Lady Jane Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Chatelherault. The proceedings were conducted with all the due formalities of the ecclesiastical courts, and sentence of divorce was pronounced, on the ground that the parties, who were related within the fourth degree, had been married without the necessary dispensation. It is impossible to allow, with Robertson,[1] that grave objection attached to the validity of this sentence: its justice, on the contrary, would appear to be unassailable. Again, in February 1566, Archbishop Hamilton, in virtue of his legatine authority, granted to the Earl of Bothwell and Lady Jane Gordon a dispensation of marriage from the impediment of consanguinity. And other documents are extant, proving the exercise of his powers as legate by the Primate on several occasions, in confirming charters granted by religious houses, and collating to vacant ecclesiastical preferments.[2]

[1] Robertson, *Statuta*, p. clxxiv, note.

[2] These acts are concerned for the most part with the south-west of Scotland, where the influence of the powerful house of Cassillis retarded for some time the cause of the Reform. Among the documents referred to is one dated September 26, 1565, issued by the Archbishop in his threefold character, as Primate, *legatus natus*, and Abbot of Paisley, and appointing Allan Stewart to the abbacy of Crossraguel, vacant by the death of Quintin Kennedy. (See *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. p. 143.)—TRANSLATOR.

The instances just recorded are, nevertheless, of an exceptional character, and serve only to bring into stronger relief the general downfall of ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout the realm. A principal grievance was that wills could no longer be confirmed—that having always been, according to Scottish law, the prerogative of the ecclesiastical courts. Causes were heard and judged sometimes in the Court of Session, sometimes in the popular assemblies of the Kirk. In order to remedy these inconveniences, four secular commissaries were appointed in February 1564, with powers to exercise either in person or by deputy the jurisdiction formerly belonging to the consistorial courts of the archbishops and bishops.

Appointment of lay commissaries.

Sir James Balfour, a former official of Lothian, who had embraced the new doctrines, was named head of the commission, and drew up a code of rules for the simplification of the procedure. The commissaries had already fully entered upon their official duties, when a writ suddenly appeared under the sign-manual of the queen, reinstating the Archbishop of St Andrews in his ancient consistorial jurisdiction. The publication of this document, which was issued at Stirling on the 23d of December 1566, was at once illegal and unwise. It was illegal, inasmuch as the statute of August 1560, which deprived the bishops of their former jurisdiction, had been, if not based upon abstract right, nevertheless received and

Reinstatement of Archbishop Hamilton.

acted upon by the nation as law; and it was unwise, since there was no reason whatever for making so complete an act of restitution to one bishop alone, and not to the remainder of the hierarchy.[1] Scarcely four days from the appearance of the royal writ, a protest, couched in the most violent language, and emanating, to judge from the style of the composition, from the pen of Knox himself, was addressed to the Privy Council. The remonstrants complain that "that conjured enemie of Jesus Chryst, and cruell murtherer of our brethren, most falselie stylit Archbischop of St Androes, is reponit and restoreit to his former tiranie;" and inveigh against the ancient Church as the "Roman Antichrist"—"a venomous and odious beast."[2] In January 1567, the Archbishop entered the capital at the head of a numerous following, in order to open his consistorial court. But so menacing was the attitude of the burghers, that the Primate found himself compelled to abandon his project; and the Protestant commissaries henceforth exercised their judicial functions undisturbed.

Remonstrance of the Protestants.

Meanwhile the relations between Mary and her

[1] The act of the queen was unfortunate also, since the sole occasion on which the Primate exercised his recovered powers was to confirm the sentence of nullity of marriage between Bothwell and his Countess. We shall see what a questionable light has been thrown by recent discoveries, in connection with this sentence, upon the Archbishop's own character. See *post*, pp. 128, 129.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Knox, *Historie*, p. 336.

Darnley in Glasgow.

intractable consort showed no signs of improvement. Since the Christmas of 1566 Darnley had absented himself from the Court, and had been residing at Glasgow, subject to the far from salutary influence of his father, the Earl of Lennox. We find him at this time—absurd as it may appear in one accustomed to attend the Protestant and Catholic services alike with perfect indifference—mixed up in a scheme which aimed at restoring Catholicism in England as well as Scotland, and at the same time assisting him to obtain the crowns of both kingdoms for himself. In furtherance of this project, Darnley addressed letters to the Pope and other Catholic princes, in which he complained of the religious indifference of his royal consort, and begged for supplies of money. He also entered into negotiations with the English Catholics, with a view to obtaining possession of the castle of Scarborough, which was to be a base of operations in the event of a rising of the Catholic party in that country.[1] The preliminaries, however, of these schemes had hardly been entered upon, when Darnley, early in January 1567, was seized with smallpox at Glasgow.

His schemes for the restoration of Catholicism.

His illness.

The knowledge of these audacious projects could not, of course, remain concealed from the queen. Although, however, she might with good ground have interposed to frustrate the plans of

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), vol. xii. No. 82; Rogers to Cecil. *Ibid.*, vol. xiii. No. 6.

her husband and his father, she nevertheless rejected the proposal made by Moray (not, probably, without ulterior motive) to commit them both to prison. We gain an insight into her sentiments in regard to Darnley from a letter written by her on the 20th of January to Archbishop Beaton, her ambassador in Paris. "As for the king our husband," she says, "God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is equally well known to God and the world; especially our own indifferent [*i.e.*, impartial] subjects see it, and in their hearts we doubt not condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied, and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings; which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any way but honourably, however he, his father, and their *fautors* speak, which we know want no goodwill to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of the execution of their pretences from them; for, as we believe, they shall find none, or very few, approves of their counsels and devices imagined to our displeasure and misliking."[1] The amicable dispositions of Mary towards her unworthy consort were proved by her at once sending her own physician to at-

The queen's sentiments towards Darnley.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, Preface, p. viii. (From the Archives of the Scotch College, Paris.)

tend him, and, when the immediate risk of infection was past, herself hurrying to his side.[1] Towards the end of January his recovery was so far advanced that it was thought prudent to remove him to Edinburgh. The residence of the Provost of St Mary's-in-the-Fields was prepared for his reception, and he was taken thither on the 31st of January.

Darnley removed to Edinburgh.

Conspiracy to put him to death.

But the nets of his enemies were drawing closer and closer round the doomed youth. Early in January a meeting was held at the castle of Whittingham, between Morton—just returned from England, where he had been living in banishment since the murder of Rizzio—the Earl of Bothwell, and Secretary Lethington; and the murder of Darnley was resolved upon. Bothwell, who declared that the queen was a consenting party to the deed, was the principal agent in the plot. Morton afterwards confessed on the scaffold that he had agreed to it on certain conditions, but had taken no part in its execution. He gave it, how-

[1] The queen, unwilling, doubtless, to expose her suite to the risk of contagion, fixed her own residence in the Archbishop's palace. It was thence that she was alleged to have written to Bothwell the first of the celebrated "Casket letters," which were afterwards adduced as evidence of her criminal intimacy with him, even during Darnley's lifetime. It is sufficient to mention here that impartial scholars have always been more than doubtful of the authenticity of these letters; and their spuriousness may now be said to be established by Mr Hosack's masterly and exhaustive review of the whole question (*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 2d ed., vol. i. pp. 187-240). See also Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 128, note, for the chief authorities on the subject.—TRANSLATOR.

ever, his active support in the person of his near relative, Archibald Douglas. The co-operation of Moray in the deed of blood is distinctly asserted by Claude Nau,[1] who in this matter repeats without doubt the conviction of his royal mistress. It was decided that the Kirk-of-Field should be the scene of the murder. The meeting at Whittingham was the sequel and outcome of the agreement previously concluded between Lethington, Moray, and Bothwell, in October 1566, at Craigmillar Castle, where Mary had spent some time after her dangerous illness.

During Darnley's residence at the Kirk-of-Field, he was visited daily by the queen, who—according to the report of the French envoy Clernault—was at this time on the best terms with her husband.[2] On the 6th of February a communication was made to Darnley by his brother-in-law, Lord Robert Stuart (half-brother to the queen), warning him of the plot that had been formed against his life. When confronted with the queen, however, Stuart denied point-blank having used the expressions attributed to him. The result was a fierce altercation between Darnley and his brother-in-law; and bloodshed was only averted

Darnley and his brother-in-law.

[1] *Mary Stuart*, p. 244. "Autheurs du crime, et entre aultres le comte de Murray, qui s'absenta ce mesme jour du faict."

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. clxii. Even Knox, although he states (*Historie*, p. 339) that "every man marvelled at this reconciliation and sudden change," throws no doubt upon its genuineness.—TRANSLATOR.

by the energetic intervention of Mary, who was obliged to appeal to Moray to part the disputants. This incident hastened the execution of the plot, which further delay might have made public. On Sunday, the 9th of February, Moray absented himself from the Court, having obtained permission to go and see his wife, who was ill in Fifeshire. On the evening of the same day, the queen, attended by several nobles, paid a visit to Darnley at Kirk-of-Field, and on the following night the house in which he lay was blown up with gunpowder. The dead body of Darnley, together with that of his servant William Taylor, was found in an orchard, some eighty yards from the ruins. Darnley was dressed only in a nightshirt, and the corpses were free from all trace of violence either by sword or fire. It is supposed that, aroused by the advance of the conspirators, they had fled from the house, but had been overtaken and strangled. Morton's kinsman, Archibald Douglas, and his two servants, John Binning and Thomas Gairner, appear to have been the immediate perpetrators of the crime.[1] Sir William Drury, writing to Cecil from Berwick in April 1567, gives some particulars regarding it which there are grounds for supposing he could

Murder of Darnley at Kirk-of-Field, Feb. 9, 1567.

[1] The charge of complicity in the murder, on which Archbishop Hamilton was tried and executed four years later, was utterly baseless. Buchanan is the sole authority for the accusation, and he contradicts himself even while making it.—TRANSLATOR.

only have learnt from Moray, who had just at that time arrived at Berwick. "It was Captain Cullen's persuasion," he relates, "for more surety to have the king strangled, and not to trust to the train of powder alone—affirming that he had known many so saved. Sir Andrew Carr, with others, was on horseback near to the place, for aid to the cruel enterprise, if need had been. . . . The king was long of dying, and to his strength made debate for his life."[1]

Action of the queen.

Queen Mary, whose courage did not desert her in presence of this terrible catastrophe, at once ordered her Privy Council to constitute themselves into a tribunal for the institution of inquiries as to the murder. Unhappily, however, little in the way of decisive measures was to be expected from a body many of whose members were themselves implicated in the crime. Placards accusing Bothwell of the murder were openly exposed in the capital, and Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, wrote to the queen, urging her to apprehend the suspected persons. Meanwhile Bothwell continued to occupy his confidential position near the person of Mary; and when at length he was brought to trial, the proceedings were completely overruled by himself, and, of course, resulted in his acquittal. The queen herself appears to have honestly believed in Bothwell's loyalty; and certainly no

Bothwell accused of the crime.

[1] *State Papers*, Border Correspondence, April 24, 1567; Drury to Cecil. See Strickland, *Lives*, vol. v. p. 179.

The queen and Bothwell.

positive evidence has yet been forthcoming to prove her complicity with, or knowledge of, the plot against her husband's life.[1] No conclusion can justly be drawn from her subsequent relations with Bothwell; for, as we shall see, she was placed completely in the ruffian's power, and acted under the influence of fear and brutal violence. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Mary was at this time the object of suspicion in many quarters. "Of this deed," her faithful ambassador, Archbishop Beaton, writes to her from Paris on March 8, "if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea, that you yourself is wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command, I can conclude nothing besides that which your Majesty writes to me yourself, that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all. . . . Here it is needful that you show forth now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy, which God has granted you. . . . And I beseech your Majesty

Suspicions attached to her.

[1] Cardauns, *Deutsche Untersuchungen über Maria Stuart*, in Historischen Jahrbuch des Görres-Gesellschaft, 1882, pp. 31-48, 445-484. See an article by the author of this work, in the *Hist.-Politisch. Blättern*, 1883, vol. i. p. 208 *seq.*

right humbly, cast here the fundament of your relief, and all the rest of your desires shall come to pass to your contentment and honour; otherwise I fear this to be the beginning and first act of the tragedy, which I pray God of His infinite goodness to avoid."[1]

Meeting of Parliament, April 1567.

Parliament assembled in Edinburgh on April 14, 1567, immediately after the acquittal of Bothwell. The record states that there were present the most reverend and reverend fathers in Christ —John, Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, and *legatus natus;* Alexander, Bishop of Galloway; William, Bishop of Dunblane; Adam, Bishop of Orkney; John, Bishop of the Isles; and the earls, barons, and others entitled to sit in Parliament. Among those who attended subsequently were also the Bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Ross, and several abbots and priors. Catholic prelates and Protestant superintendents sat side by side in the assembly.[2]

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, Preface, p. ix. (From the Archives of the Scotch College, Paris.)

[2] It must not be forgotten, however, that few of the so-called Catholic prelates had any real claim to the title by which they sat in Parliament. The sees of Galloway, Orkney, and Brechin were occupied by intruded laymen, and many of the abbeys and priories were held by lay commendators, in many cases not even nominal Catholics. As for the bishopric of the Isles, neither Carsewell nor John Campbell, whom he succeeded, nor Campbell's own predecessor, Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, had ever received episcopal consecration. The last Catholic Bishop of the Isles was Roderick Maclean, who died in 1550. (See Appendix VII. to vol. ii. p. 424 *seq.*)—TRANSLATOR.

The former, although they had been deprived of all semblance of jurisdiction, retained their benefices for life; and the transition to the new order of things appeared thus somewhat less abrupt.

The bishopric of the Isles.

The Bishop of the Isles named above was John Carsewell, Protestant Superintendent of Argyle. He had been nominated on the 24th of March to the bishopric of the Isles and the abbacy of Iona, the royal writ setting forth that he was appointed in the same form and with the same freedom as if he had been presented to the see by the Court of Rome. Nothing is known as to the decease of Carsewell's predecessor, John Campbell. Apparently, however, there had been a later appointment to the see, as we find on May 23, 1567, a certain Lachlan Maclean formally resigning his claim to the bishopric of the Isles and the abbacy of Iona, and engaging not to disturb Carsewell in the possession of the same.

Acts passed by Parliament.

Twenty-four enactments were passed by this Parliament, two of them being of special interest and importance. According to the Scottish law, all grants of Crown lands which had been made during the minority of the sovereign were liable to be recalled, failing the subsequent ratification of the title-deeds by Parliament.[1] Rizzio and Darnley had been suspected of using their influ-

[1] *Stat. Jacob. II.* ann. 1437. Such grants had been actually annulled during the previous reign. The age of majority was considered to be twenty-five (see vol. ii. p. 250).—TRANSLATOR.

ence with the queen, in regard to this matter, in a manner unfavourable to the nobles; and their untimely fate is partly to be attributed to this cause. It was consequently of great importance to the nobles—possessed as they were of so much Church and Crown property—to make good their titles to what they had acquired. The Parliament showed itself amenable to their wishes. The deeds which ratified the titles of Moray, Morton, and Angus (Morton's nephew) alone, amounted to some eight-and-twenty folio pages. There appears something almost ludicrous in the fact that the same assembly which thus so notably diminished the power of the Crown, made a show of compensation to the queen for what she had lost, by extending its approval to her ecclesiastical policy. After a preliminary declaration that Mary, since her arrival in Scotland, had done nothing contrary to the established religion,[1] all existing statutes against Protestants were (as we have already mentioned) formally repealed, and —as if in mockery of the unfortunate Catholics —liberty was guaranteed to every Scotsman to live according to his own religion.[2]

Parliament rose on the 19th of April; and on the evening of the same day, in a tavern kept by

The Aynslie bond.

[1] "The Quene"—so runs the declaration—"had attemptit nathing contrare the Estait of Religioun, quhilk hir Majestie fand publiklie and universallie standing at hir Arrival." Keith, *Affairs*, p. 379, note (*c*).—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See Opitz, *Maria Stuart*, vol. i. p. 188.

one Aynslie, Bothwell entertained the principal nobility to a supper, at the conclusion of which his guests subscribed a bond affirming their conviction of Bothwell's innocence of the crime that had been imputed to him, and recommending him as a fitting husband for the queen.[1] To the representations of the Privy Council on the latter point Mary at first absolutely refused to listen; and it was not until Bothwell was formally acquitted (although, as we know, by a mock tribunal) that she would consent to entertain the idea, much less to give any definite answer. Bothwell, however, hurried on the progress of events. On April 24, 1567, he surprised and overpowered the queen —who was returning to Edinburgh from Stirling, where she had been to visit her infant son—carried her off to his castle of Dunbar, and kept her there a close prisoner. The outrage is narrated in the following terms by Mary herself, in her instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane, whom she despatched as envoy to France in the following month :—

Seizure of the queen's person by Bothwell.

"Finding our answer nothing correspondent to his desire, and casting before his eyes all doubts that customable men use to revolve with themselves in semblable enterprises, the outwardness [untowardness] of our own mind,

[1] The Earl of Eglinton alone refused to disgrace himself by subscribing this document. Miss Strickland (*Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 252) charitably endeavours to exculpate some of those who signed, on the ground that they were probably intoxicated at the time.—TRANSLATOR.

the persuasions which our friends or his unfriends might cast out for his hindrance, the change of their minds whose consent he had already obtained, with many other incidents which might occur to frustrate him of his expectation, he resolved with himself to follow forth his good fortune, and all respects laid apart, either to tyne [lose] all in one hour, or to bring to pass that thing he had taken in hand; and so, resolved quickly to prosecute his deliberation, he suffered not the matter long to sleep, but within four days thereafter, finding opportunity, by reason we were passed secretly towards Stirling to visit the prince our dearest son, in our returning he awaited us by the way, accompanied with a great force, and led us with all diligence to Dunbar." [1]

Mary was thus completely in Bothwell's power; and in order still further to strengthen his influence, he appointed his sister, Lady Coldingham, to attend upon her.

Bothwell's treatment of the queen.

From the 25th of April until the 6th of May the unhappy Queen of Scots remained a prisoner at Dunbar. Long and stoutly as she resisted the solicitations of her brutal captor, we cannot wonder that she was at length forced to yield to the means by which he strove to enforce his wishes. We resume here the queen's own narrative, which depicts with such vividness and truth her deplorable situation. After mention of the reproaches which, on her arrival at Dunbar, she had addressed to Bothwell, on account of his conduct towards her, she thus continues:—

"Albeit we found his doings rude, yet were his answer

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 390.

and words but gentle. That he would honour and serve us, and noways offend us; asked pardon of the boldness he had taken to convey us to one of our own houses, whereunto he was driven by force, as well as constrained by love, the vehemence whereof had made him to set apart the reverence which naturally as our subject he bore to us, as also for safety of his own life. And then began to make us a discourse of his whole life,—how unfortunate he had been to find men his unfriends whom he had never offended; how their malice never ceased to assault him at all occasions, albeit unjustly; what calumnies had they spread upon him touching the odious violence perpetrated in the person of the king our late husband; how unable he was to save himself from conspiracies of his enemies, whom he might not know, by reason every man professed himself outwardly to be his friend; and yet he had such malice, that he could not find himself in surety, without he were assured of our favour to endure without alteration; and other assurance thereof could he not lippin [expect], without it would please us to do him that honour to take him to husband; protesting always that he would seek no other sovereignty but as before, to serve and obey us all the days of our life, joining thereunto all the honest language that could be used in such a case.

Arguments used by Bothwell.

"And when he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers, in the end he showed us how far he was proceeded with our whole nobility and principals of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwrits. If we had cause to be astonished, we remit us to the judgment of the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends. Seeing ourself in his puissance, sequestrated from the company of all our servants and others of whom we might ask counsel; yea, seeing them upon whose counsel and fidelity we had before depended, who ought and must maintain our authority, without whom in a

manner we are nothing—for what is a prince without a people?—beforehand already yielded to his appetite, and so we left alone as it were a prey to him: many things we revolved with ourself, but never could find any way out. And yet gave he us little space to meditate with ourself, ever pressing us with continual and importune suit.

"In the end, when we saw no esperance to be rid of him, never man in Scotland once making one mind to procure our deliverance, for that it might appear by their handwrit and silence at that time that he had won them all, we were compelled to mitigate our displeasure, and began to think upon that he propoundit; and then were content to lay before our eyes the service he had done in times past, the offer of his continuance hereafter; how unwilling our people are to receive a stranger unacquainted with their laws and customs, that they would not suffer us long to remain unmarried; that this realm, being divided in factions as it is, cannot be contained in order unless our authority be assisted and set forth by the fortification of a man who must take pain upon his person for the execution of justice, and suppressing of their insolence that would rebel, the travail whereof we may no longer sustain in our own person, being already wearied and almost broken with the frequent uproars and rebellions raised against us since we come in Scotland; how we have been compelled to make four or five lieutenants at once in divers parts of the realm, of whom the most part, abusing our authority, has, under colour of our commission, raised our subjects within their charge against ourself: And seeing force would compel us in the end, for preservation of our own estate, to incline to some marriage, and that the humour of our people would not well digest a foreign husband, and that of our own subjects there was none, either for the reputation of his house, or for the worthiness of himself, as well in wisdom, valiant-

ness, as in all other good qualities, to be preferred or yet compared to him whom we have taken;[1] we were content to accomode ourself with the consent of our whole estates, which, as is before said, had already declared their contentations.

The queen forced to promise compliance.

"After he had by these means, and many others, brought us a gateward to his intent, he partly extorted and partly obtained our promise to take him to our husband: And yet not content therewith, fearing ever some alterations, he would not be satisfied with all the just reasons we could allege to have the consummation of the marriage delayed, as had been most reasonable, until we might communicate the same to the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends; but as by a bravado in the beginning he had won the first point, so ceased he never, till by persuasions and importune suit, *accompanied not the less with force, he has finally driven us*[2] to end the work begun at such time and in such form as he thought might best serve his turn, wherein we cannot dissemble that he has used us otherwise than we would have wished, or yet have deserved at his hand, having more respect to content them by whose consent granted to him beforehand he thinks he has obtained his purpose (although therein he had both frustrated us and them), than regarding our contentation, or yet weighing what was convenient for us that has been nourished in our own religion, and never intends to leave the same for him or any man upon earth."

True motive of Mary's consent.

The narrative which Mary herself has left us is amply corroborated by the records of the enactments of Parliament in the following December. In these it is clearly set forth that force

[1] The queen, as is evident from the next paragraph, is reporting Bothwell's arguments, not her own sentiments.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] These expressions are significant enough, in connection with Mary's supposed freedom of action.—TRANSLATOR.

and violence had been the means by which Bothwell had gained his end, and that he had compelled the queen by fear, under circumstances such as might befall any woman in the world, however courageous, to promise to marry him.[1] Mary's true situation is described in even more unmistakable language in a letter addressed by the Scottish lords to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, on July 11, 1567, in which they declare that Bothwell, "by fear, force, and other extraordinary and more onlawful means, compelled her to share the bed of the husband of another woman."[2] Bothwell himself, in his dying confession, said that he accomplished his purpose "by the use of sweet waters"; and it was generally believed that he had confused the mind of the queen, and subjected her will to his own by means of magical arts. It is, in fact, impossible to exonerate him from the charge of having inflicted on his royal captive, to use the words of one of her biographers,[3] the greatest outrage that can

[1] *Acts Parl. James VI.*, vol. iii. pp. 5-10.

[2] Opitz, *Maria Stuart*, vol. i. p. 200; Keith, *Affairs*, p. 418.

[3] Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 280. This writer truly states that "no circumstance in history was ever verified by so important a weight of evidence," as the fact of the supreme outrage offered by Bothwell to his unhappy victim at Dunbar. Nothing can be more explicit than the language of contemporary records, as we find it in the Lords' Proclamation against Bothwell (in Anderson's *Collections*), the Act for his forfeiture, December 1567, and the *Memoirs of Sir James Melville* (p. 177). The narrative of Claude Nau amply corroborates the other evidence, as Fr. Stevenson points out (*Mary Stuart*, Preface, p. clvi).—TRANSLATOR.

be offered to woman, with the object of forcing her subsequent consent to a union with him.

Bothwell's divorce from his wife.

Bothwell's next step was to take measures to procure a divorce from his own wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly. There was a twofold tie of consanguinity between them, and their marriage could therefore only have been validly contracted with a dispensation from Rome. There is still preserved in the Hamilton archives the notarial record of the proof of consanguinity on which the dispensation was based, and which was taken in February 1566, in the presence of Master John Forrest, protonotary and secretary to the primate.[1] In virtue of his legatine powers, Archbishop Hamilton had granted a dispensation from the impediment, and the marriage had been celebrated according to the Protestant rite—the queen having vainly tried to induce Bothwell, himself a pervert to Protestantism, to consent to the Catholic ceremony out of consideration for his bride. This circumstance, however, could in no way affect the validity of the marriage, since the decree of Trent, obliging the ceremony to be solemnised by the parish priest, had never been published in Scotland, and according to the anti-Tridentine law, the consent of the parties was all that was requisite.

On Sunday, April 27, Archbishop Hamilton

[1] Printed in Tytler's *Vindication*, Appendix, No. ii., pp. 25, 26 (edition 1767).

issued his commission to Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld; William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane; Archibald Crawford, parson of Eglesham and canon of Glasgow; John Manderston, canon of the collegiate church of Dunbar; Alexander Crichton, canon of Dunkeld; and George Cook, chancellor of Dunkeld, charging them to inquire into the validity of Bothwell's marriage. The proceedings were opened on the 3d of May, and three days later the proctor for the Countess renounced all further defence of her case. On May the 7th, Manderston, as judge delegate, pronounced the marriage to be null and void, in respect of the consanguinity of the parties concerned. It must be noted, however, that Manderston is stated, on good authority, to have given his sentence under the influence of bodily fear.[1] However this may have been, the action of the primate in confirming the decision (as there can be no doubt he did) is difficult to comprehend, considering that he himself, hardly a year before, had granted a dispensation from the very impediment in question. It has been conjectured[2] that Bothwell had suppressed or destroyed the dispensation, as it was doubtless to his interest to do. But it has now been proved beyond question that it was

Action of the primate.

[1] The articles given in by Moray to Queen Elizabeth's commissioners at Westminster, in December 1568, state that "the pure man nominat judge was divers tymes minascit of his liff."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Robertson, *Statuta*, p. clxxxii, note.

preserved by the Countess, to whom the proof of the validity of her marriage was naturally of paramount importance; and the actual document itself has been rescued from the dust of three centuries, and recently printed.[1]

Important discovery of the missing dispensation.

This discovery, if genuine, throws an entirely new light upon the action both of the Archbishop and of Bothwell and his wife. The primate, it would seem, so far from being justified in sanctioning the dissolution of their marriage, was bound rather strenuously to uphold its validity. The reproach has been brought against him[2] that, by promoting the divorce, he deliberately aimed at the ruin both of the queen and of Bothwell, and so securing the crown to his own family, which stood next in succession. But the acts of the process having unfortunately been lost, it is impossible to pronounce a conclusive judgment on the matter. It cannot, at all events, be disputed that the instrument of dispensation may have been subsequently discovered, for some canonical reasons, to be itself invalid, in which case, of course, there could be no lawful marriage between the parties.[3] It is clear,

[1] John Stuart, *A Lost Chapter of the History of Mary Queen of Scots recovered* (1874). Dr Stuart unearthed the original dispensation from the archives of Dunrobin. [Lady Bothwell's second husband was the Earl of Sutherland.—TRANSLATOR.] See Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii., Preface, pp. v-ix.

[2] Hosack, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 321; vol. ii., Preface, p. viii.

[3] Since the above was written, grave doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of the Dunrobin document by the author of the latest vindication of Queen Mary (*A Narrative and Defence*, Aber-

at least, that Bothwell and the Countess were both consenting parties to the separation; for the Earl settled upon her a jointure for life out of his estates;[1] and the Countess herself raised an action of divorce against her husband on the 29th of April before the Protestant commissaries, on the ground of his misconduct with one of her waiting-women.[2] The divorce was granted by sentence pronounced on the 3d of May. The question as to the re-marriage of divorced persons had not been conclusively settled by the Assembly; but the Reformed preachers had been strictly forbidden to celebrate such marriages.[3] Both-

Collusion of Bothwell and his Countess.

deen, 1889). The author points out (we believe for the first time) that the dispensation is dated in the seventh year of the pontificate of Pius IV., who had in fact, at the date mentioned, been dead for more than two months. Lady Bothwell's marriage to Sutherland, five years before the death of her first husband, would certainly appear to prove her knowledge of the worthless character of the dispensation. The charge against the primate would, of course, in this case fall to the ground.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] In order, it has been thought, to purchase her silence. The Countess enjoyed her jointure for more than sixty years. She died in 1629. See Hosack, pref. to vol. ii. p. vii. note.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, clxiv-clxvi) has printed from an unedited MS. in the Bodleian Library the depositions against Bothwell, and the judgment of divorce pronounced on May 3 by Robert Maitland, Dean of Aberdeen, and Edward Henryson (both Senators of the College of Justice), Clement Little, and Alexander Syme, advocates.

[3] It was only the guilty party whose re-marriage was forbidden. The judgment in Bothwell's case expressly gives the Countess liberty "to marry in the Lord where she pleases." Adam Bothwell, the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, was unanimously deposed by the Assembly in December 1567 for marrying Bothwell to Queen Mary (*Book Univ. Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 114).—TRANSLATOR.

well, however, would care little for such a prohibition. As to the question whether Queen Mary was aware of the existence of the important dispensation, there is no proof whatever that she was. The fact that the document was kept entirely out of sight during the process in the Archbishop's Court, and that the sentence of nullity of marriage was given on the ground of there being no such dispensation, would necessarily lead the queen to the conviction that the marriage was, and always had been, null and void.[1]

The queen brought to Edinburgh.

On the 6th of May Bothwell brought Mary, under a strong escort, from Dunbar to Edinburgh, where he lodged her in the Castle, cut off altogether from communication with the outside world. His next step was to procure the proclamation of the banns in the church of St Giles. The preacher Craig was courageous enough to resist his demands, refusing to comply with them without a written warrant from the queen, and justifying his refusal on the ground of the universal belief that she was a prisoner, and not a free agent. On the following day the Lord Jus-

[1] Hosack, however, cites in proof of her subsequent knowledge of the true state of the case, her mention, in a letter to the Pope in 1571, of the "*pretended divorce*" of Bothwell from his wife (Labanoff, *Lettres*, vol. iii. p. 232). In her commission to Bishop Leslie, her envoy to the Pope in 1575, the queen affirms that "there are many reasons which make" her marriage to Bothwell "invalid in itself." One of these, apart from Bothwell having been a married man at the time, would of course be the *impedimentum raptus* in her own case.—TRANSLATOR.

tice-Clerk produced a document bearing the signature of Mary, and professing to state that she was not in captivity, and desired the banns to be published. Craig did not refuse to obey what purported to be the express mandate of the sovereign, and made the publication accordingly—not, however, without adding at the same time the unmistakable expression of his own sentiments as to the ill-omened union. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he exclaimed from the pulpit, "that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and scandalous to the world; and *seeing the best part of the realm did approve it either by flattery or by their silence*,[1] I would desire the faithful to pray earnestly that God will turn to the comfort of the realm that which is done against reason and good conscience."

Publication of the banns.

On the day following the publication of the banns, the queen, accompanied by Bothwell, appeared in the High Court of Edinburgh, and informed the lords that the scruples which they had entertained as to their power of lawfully administering justice while the sovereign was detained in captivity might now be dismissed; that although she had been highly offended with the Earl of Bothwell for his late conduct, she now forgave him in consideration of his numerous ser-

[1] These words bear significant testimony to the isolated situation in which the unhappy queen found herself when imprisoned and betrayed by Bothwell.

vices to her, and intended to promote him to still further honour. Accordingly he was the same day created Duke of Orkney at Holyrood, the queen herself placing the coronet on his head. The humiliating state of bondage to which Bothwell had reduced her is still further evidenced by the terms in which she was persuaded, on the 14th of May, to grant a free pardon to the subscribers of the disgraceful Aynslie bond. Two more steps only were wanting to complete her degradation. On the same day, May the 14th, the contract of marriage was signed in presence of Archbishop Hamilton, the Bishops of Galloway and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, and Rothes, Lords Leslie, Fleming, and Herries, Secretary Maitland, Bellenden (Justice-Clerk), and Crichton (queen's advocate).[1] Next morning, at four o'clock, the marriage ceremony took place in the council-hall of Holyrood Palace. If Mary, on the occasion of Bothwell's first marriage, had expressed her wish that the Catholic ritual should be used, much more may we believe her desire to have been the same when her own union with him was in question. But in neither case would Bothwell consent to conform to the wishes of his Catholic bride. The ceremony was accordingly performed by Adam Bothwell, the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, assisted by the preacher Craig. The primate was present, as well as the Bishops

Bothwell created Duke of Orkney.

Signing of the marriage-contract.

Marriage of the queen to Bothwell, May 15, 1567.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 111, 112.

of Ross and Dunblane, the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, and Sutherland, and Lords Livingstone, Fleming, Oliphant, Glammis, and Boyd.[1] The statement of Mignet, that the ceremony was performed first with the Catholic ritual and afterwards in the Protestant form, is quite without foundation;[2] while Mr Froude's assertion[3] that not a single nobleman was present on the occasion, is equally unsupported by contemporary evidence.

Unhappy condition of Mary.

We may learn something of Queen Mary's state of mind on the day of her ill-omened marriage from a letter written by Le Croc, the French ambassador, to Mary de Medici on April 18. In an audience granted to him by the queen, he reports, he was struck with the strangeness of her manner towards Bothwell, "which she begged me to excuse, saying that if I saw her sad, it was because she did not wish to be happy, as she said she never could be, wishing only for death." On the following day, when alone in her room with Bothwell, she was heard to cry aloud for a knife to stab herself. "Those who knew of this," adds the ambassador, "believed that unless God came to her aid, she would ere long fall into despair."

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 111, 112.

[2] Mignet refers to Drury's letter to Cecil, May 16, 1567. Drury, however, distinctly says that the marriage was "with a sermon and not with a Mass;" and that "the Bishop of Orkney and Mr Craig were present, and had to do."—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *History of England*, vol. ix. p. 74.

Confederation of nobles against Bothwell.

But Bothwell, the murderer of Darnley and seducer and betrayer of his queen, was before long to meet with the recompense of his misdeeds. On the 8th of May, Kirkaldy of Grange had addressed a letter to the Earl of Bedford, informing him of the bond that had been entered into at Stirling by the principal nobles, with the threefold object—first, of securing the liberty of the queen, "who is ravished and detained by the Earl of Bothwell;" secondly, of preserving the young prince; and, thirdly, of prosecuting and punishing the murderers of the late king.[1] Sir Robert Melville wrote to Cecil in similar terms on May 7.[2] We learn from the concluding passage of Kirkaldy's letter that Mary's arch-enemy, her half-brother Moray, who during his absence from Scotland was doing his best to blacken her character,[3] was kept accurately informed of the progress of events in Scotland. "It will please your lordship," writes Kirkaldy, "to haste the other letters to my lord of Moray; and write unto him to come back into Normandy, that he may be in readiness against my lords write unto him." It was, of course, desired to obtain the sympathy and assistance of Elizabeth in this new combination of the Scottish nobles; but the Queen of

[1] State Paper Office. Quoted by Tytler, *History*, vol. iii. p. 249.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[3] Drury writes to Cecil (May 20, 1567) that Moray is "still in England, practising with the Council there, little to her good, and speaking worse of her than became a subject."—TRANSLATOR.

England expressed herself in severe terms respecting the language applied by Kirkaldy to the conduct of his sovereign, and refused to give any countenance to the proposed measures.[1]

Relations of Bothwell and Mary.

Meanwhile, although Bothwell treated his royal bride with external respect, causing her to doff the widow's weeds in which she had been married and to appear with him in public, he did not cease to vent in private his ill-humour and brutality, so that hardly a day passed without her shedding bitter tears.[2] She concealed, nevertheless, the anguish which filled her heart, enduring with what fortitude she might the consequences of that event, "of which, since it has succeeded" —as she wrote to her faithful friend Archbishop Beaton — "we maun make the best we can." Bothwell himself, who must have been aware of the coming storm, exerted every effort to maintain his position. The confederate nobles who had signed the bond at Stirling were anxious to enlist the Reformed preachers on their side; and it was doubtless with a view to counteract them that a royal proclamation appeared on May 23, confirming the laws already passed in favour of the Protestant religion. Moreover, in order to leave no room for doubt as to the sincerity of his adherence to the Reformation, the same proclamation, which was of course extorted from the

Proclamation in favour of Protestantism.

[1] Letter of Randolph to Leicester (Tytler, vol. v. p. 250).

[2] Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 82.

queen by Bothwell, renewed, as if in mockery of the freedom of conscience guaranteed by Parliament, the severest penalties against all who refused to conform to the State religion.[1]

Active measures against Bothwell.

The nobles, having first succeeded in establishing a secret understanding with Sir James Balfour, commandant of Edinburgh Castle, issued a proclamation on the 11th of June, calling on the people to support them in their "righteous noble enterprise." They then proceeded in considerable force to Borthwick Castle, where Bothwell had established himself with the queen, a few days previously. Bothwell, however, escaped at night by a postern door; and being joined by the queen on the following day, he hurried her to Dunbar. Summons was at once issued to the adherents of the royal cause, and in a short time Mary found herself at the head of two thousand men.

Carberry Hill.

The opposing forces met at Carberry Hill, some six miles from Edinburgh. It was at first proposed to decide the issue by single combat, and Bothwell and Lord Lindsay prepared to do battle. Mary, on the other hand, was desirous of postponing the fight, as she expected reinforcements from Linlithgow; but as there seemed no prospect of their arrival, she adopted a bold expedient in order to bring matters to a crisis. She undertook to separate from Bothwell, and to surrender

[1] Knox, *Historie*, p. 342. The text of the proclamation in Keith, *Affairs*, p. 571.

herself into the hands of the lords, if they would acknowledge her as their sovereign, and yield her due obedience and homage. This the lords assured her, through Kirkaldy of Grange, they would most gladly do. It could only have been in the hope of liberating herself, at any cost, from the hateful bondage in which she had been living, that the hapless queen consented to throw herself into the arms of the self-constituted avengers of Darnley's death—the very men who a few weeks before had, by their subscriptions to the disgraceful Aynslie bond, virtually compelled her hated union with Bothwell. Even now she would not abandon him until she had demanded from the lords an assurance of his personal safety. Bothwell, after vainly urging the queen to accompany him back to Dunbar, rode off thither, attended by a few of his followers, and Mary gave herself up into the hands of traitors to her crown and person.

Treachery of the nobles.

The assurances given by Kirkaldy to the queen were, as might have been anticipated, belied by the event. Mary received the treatment, not of a queen, but of a captive. She was brought to Edinburgh under a strong escort, led through the streets amid the taunts and execrations of the excited populace, and lodged in a small chamber in the provost's house, bereft of all female attendance,[1] and not even permitted to change her

[1] "They sufferit na man to speik to hir yesterday, or to cum

travel-stained dress. Although utterly exhausted, she was unable to touch the food that was offered her. Driven wellnigh to despair, she appeared with the first dawn of morning at the window of her apartment, her hair dishevelled and her dress torn and disordered, and implored the people to free her from the cruelty of her traitor subjects. Many, we are told, were moved with compassion at the pitiable sight, and were filled with indignation at the conduct of the lords. Suddenly Mary's eye fell on the figure of Maitland, standing in the street beneath her window. Calling him by name, she entreated him to come to her. The perfidious secretary introduced into her presence Morton and Athole, who sought to calm her by their assurances that as soon as the tumult had subsided she would be taken to Holyrood and set at liberty. Meanwhile calumny was busy with her name. It was industriously rumoured that she had on the previous night written to Bothwell, styling him "her dear heart, whom she should never abandon." Such a charge refutes itself; for it is certain that in her rigid confinement in the provost's house, the unhappy prisoner had no opportunity either of writing or of despatching such a missive; nor is there the slightest evidence that it ever existed.[1] On this same day

quhair sche was—yea, noucht hir awin maiddenis."—Letter of J. Beton. (Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 339, note.)

[1] Froude incorporates into his narrative (*History*, vol. viii. p. 179)

—June 16—a new bond of association, for the avenging of Darnley's murder and the punishment of Bothwell, was subscribed by the confederate lords; in other words, the actual assassins of Darnley banded together against their fellow-conspirator, in order to strike through him at the queen, and so to secure the supreme power for themselves.[1] Late in the evening the queen was brought to Holyrood—not, however, to resume possession of her throne and royal dignity, but to take leave of it for ever. That very night she was hurried from the palace of her ancestors, and after a long and exhausting ride of more than thirty miles, was confined in the castle of Lochleven. Lindsay and Ruthven were charged to escort her thither; and although they were hotly pursued by Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, and a score or two of their loyal followers, they succeeded in incarcerating their royal victim in the fortress before the rescuing party could come up.[2] Mary's custodian during her captivity at Lochleven was Lady Douglas, wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and former mistress to James V., to whom she had borne a son, the Earl of Moray. The distress of the imprisoned queen was aggravated by the unfeeling behaviour of her jailer, who taunted her with being a usur-

The queen imprisoned in Lochleven, June 16, 1567.

this incident, as he does so many others which tell against the queen, without the least inquiry into its truth.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 404; *State Papers* (Scotland), vol. xiii. No. 63.

[2] Keith, *Affairs, loc. cit.*

per, maintaining that her own son Moray was the rightful king.

Pillage of the Chapel-Royal.

Meanwhile events were marching rapidly in the capital. On the 24th of June the fanatic Earl of Glencairn, with his servants, broke down and destroyed the altars, images, and other furniture of the Chapel-Royal at Holyrood—an act which caused some displeasure among the nobles, although it was highly pleasing to the zealous Protestants.[1] The jewels, plate, and dresses belonging to the queen were also seized by the confederates. The leaders of the Reformed party now came prominently forward.

The Assembly in Edinburgh.

Return of John Knox.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on June the 25th, among those present being John Knox, who had just returned to Scotland. The Assembly, however, chose as their moderator, not Knox, but George Buchanan, the classical scholar and former tutor of Queen Mary, who had bestowed many favours upon him, and now saw him numbered among her bitterest enemies.[2] The sentiments of the Assembly under such a leader were soon brought into harmony with the views of the associated barons; and it was agreed to address letters to those Protestant nobles who were favourable to the queen, urging them to attend another meeting of the Assembly, to be held on July 20, with a view to concerting

[1] Knox, *Historie*, p. 344. Lord Herries, *Memoirs*, p. 97.

[2] Buchanan was at this time Principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews.—TRANSLATOR.

measures for the further "removing and banishing all superstition and idolatry, and the monuments thereof, out of the realm."[1] Knox himself, with some of his colleagues, was charged with the mission of waiting personally on the lords of the queen's party, with the object of securing their attendance at the forthcoming Assembly. This, however, they declined to promise, on the ground that they could not at that time come to Edinburgh in safety.[2] The result of this refusal was to band together still more closely the rebel lords and the Protestant clergy, the former promising to take into immediate consideration the question of augmenting the stipends of the ministers.

Division among the Protestant nobles.

The Assembly met, as arranged, on the 21st of July, among those present being the Earls of Morton, Mar, and Glencairn; Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Ochiltree; Secretary Maitland, and Kirkaldy of Grange. It was agreed, among other things, to maintain and uphold the acts of the Parliament of 1560; to avenge the murder of Darnley; to intrust the education of the young prince to four wise and godly men; and to "beat down and abolish Popery, idolatry, and superstition, with anything that may contribute unto it, as also to set up and further the true worship of God."[3] All future sovereigns, moreover, were

Resolutions of the Assembly.

[1] Keith, *Affairs*, p. 573.
[2] Knox, *Historie*, p. 344. Tytler, *History*, vol. iii. p. 261.
[3] Knox, *Historie*, p. 345. *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 54-69.

to take an oath, before their coronation, to maintain the religion then professed in the Church of Scotland. Morton and his friends, who had everything to fear from the party attached to the queen, were of course ready to sanction the most extreme measures proposed by the Reformers.

Proposed deposition of the queen.

The confederate barons were in the meantime considering as to the fate of their imprisoned sovereign. They resolved almost unanimously to compel her to abdicate; but rejected the further proposal, which was vehemently supported by her bitter enemy Knox, that she should be publicly tried for complicity in Darnley's death. Three documents were ultimately prepared for the royal signature. In these Mary formally resigned the crown in favour of her infant son, and appointed the Earl of Moray as regent during his minority. Until Moray's return from France, or in case of his death, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, Morton, and Mar were empowered to act for him. Lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Melville were charged to execute the commission of the lords, and accordingly proceeded to Lochleven on July the 24th. Melville used all his eloquence in vain endeavours to induce Mary to sign the documents: his persuasive arguments, and half-veiled hints that by this concession alone could she save her life, were alike fruitless. The rude and brutal Lindsay then burst into the queen's presence,

and threatened her with instant death if she delayed to comply with their demands.[1] Forced by his menaces to yield, Mary subscribed her name, calling to witness Melville and George Douglas, the youngest son of the Lady of Lochleven, that her signature was extorted by force.

Mary signs her abdication.

Thus, on the 24th of July 1567, Mary Stuart virtually ceased to be queen of Scotland. The plans of her enemies were at length fulfilled, and the dark schemes concocted by Moray and Maitland at Craigmillar had found their accomplishment. Darnley had perished at the hands of Bothwell; and the union of Mary with the assassin had been surely and speedily followed by her own downfall.

[1] Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, p. 265. "L'admonestant par diverses foys de signer, qu'aultrement elle les contraindoit, au despit qu'ils en eussent, de luy coupper la gorge." See also Preface, p. clxxix; Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 367-369; Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 365; Tytler, *History*, vol. iii. p. 268.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF QUEEN MARY TO THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER (1567-1569).

No sooner was the extorted abdication of the Queen of Scots in the hands of the rebel lords, than those pretended patriots and friends of public order hastened to provide for the coronation of her successor. Report was duly made to them by their commissioners of the result of their visit to Lochleven, and the documents bearing the royal signature, and conveying Mary's resignation of her crown in favour of her son, were laid before them. These, however, were not yet sealed, and Thomas Sinclair, the loyal keeper of the privy seal, stoutly refused to affix it as long as the queen was kept in ward. He only yielded at last to the violence of Lindsay, protesting at the same time that he was not a free agent. The warrant presented to him, requiring him to seal the deeds, bore the royal signature, but there is no evidence that Mary had ever subscribed it.

Fraudulent sealing of the writs of abdication.

It was in all probability a forgery.[1] The nobles at once proceeded to draw up and sign a bond or agreement, embodying the act of abdication, and containing an engagement to crown the infant prince at Stirling, and to maintain his rights as lawful king.[2] How little this new revolution was the work of the Scottish nation at large is sufficiently shown by the fact that the bond originally bore the signatures only of Morton, Athole, Hume, Sanquhar, and Ruthven. It was not until several months later that this scanty list of subscribers was supplemented by some two hundred additional names.

Preparations were at once made for the ceremony of coronation, which the lords, by a refinement of malice, fixed to take place on the 29th of July, the anniversary of Mary's marriage to Darnley. Partly, no doubt, to hoodwink the people, another effort was made to secure the presence of representatives of the various factions of the nobility. Special invitations were despatched to the powerful family of Hamilton, and the other "queen's lords" (as they began to be styled), desiring their assistance and concurrence in the coronation of the prince, "conformable to the queen's commission." The opinions of this party were somewhat divided. The Archbishop of St An-

Negotiations with the queen's party.

[1] The forged warrant, with Sinclair's protest, were first printed by Mr Riddell, advocate, in 1817.—Translator.

[2] The text of the bond in Keith, *Affairs*, pp. 434, 435.

drews returned a courteous and conciliatory answer, in the name of himself and his house; but some of the queen's supporters showed themselves inclined to make stipulations which, however reasonable in themselves, could not be acceptable to the rebel lords. They desired permission to visit Mary personally, in order to ascertain whether her abdication of the crown had been a free act, or extorted from her by force. Such a request, of course, could not be granted.

Coronation of James VI.

On the appointed day, July 29, 1567, James VI. was solemnly crowned in the parish church of Stirling. Five earls and seven barons only were present—namely, the Earls of Morton, Mar, Athole, Glencairn, and Menteith, and Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Hume, Sempill, Innermeith, and Ochiltree: also the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, with various officials and representatives of towns and baronies.[1] The proceedings were opened with the invocation of the name of God; after which Ruthven and Lindsay, having read in the name and by commission of the queen her abdication in favour of her son, had the hardihood to affirm upon solemn oath that it was her own free act. Morton, acting as sponsor for the prince, laid his hand upon the Gospels and swore that he would maintain the true religion of Christ as then received and practised within the realm, and would

[1] Keith (*Affairs*, pp. 437, 438) gives the complete list of those present, from the official record of the Privy Council.

root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God. By way of counterbalance, as it would seem, to this uncompromising declaration, the Catholic rite of anointing was then performed by Adam Bothwell, although not without a strong protest from Knox, who could not endure such a reversion to the detested usages of the ancient Church. The Reformer himself preached the coronation sermon, which was based on the narrative of the crowning of Joas and the slaughter of Athalias, in the Second Book of Kings, and breathed the most bloodthirsty sentiments against the queen. Meanwhile the roar of cannons announced the inauguration of the new reign, and on the following day the regency was proclaimed in Edinburgh and the other cities of the realm. The immediate consequence to Queen Mary was the increased rigour of her captivity. At once after the coronation ceremony Lindsay returned to Lochleven, and gave orders that the queen, with two or three of her maidens, should be strictly confined in the tower of the castle. Queen Elizabeth herself seems to have been moved with compassion for the hardships endured by her kinswoman, and she rated Cecil sharply for his want of activity in the cause of the Queen of Scots. She even entertained the idea of menacing the rebel lords with a declaration of open war,[1] and

Increased rigour of Mary's confinement.

Attitude of the Queen of England.

[1] Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, July 27, 1567. Keith, *Affairs*, p. 428.

only refrained from doing so owing to the assurances of Cecil that she would thus precipitate Mary's fate.[1]

Pursuit and escape of Bothwell.

Meanwhile Bothwell himself, the real cause of the betrayal and fall of his sovereign, was not to escape the punishment of his ill-doing. Early in August 1567, a commission was issued with rigorous orders to pursue and apprehend him. He fled to Orkney, and thence to Shetland; and although for a time he contrived to escape capture, he was ultimately taken prisoner on the coast of Norway, and delivered up to King Frederick II. of Denmark, who confined him first in the fortress of Malmö, and afterwards at Draxholm. Here

His death.

he died on April 14, 1578, leaving behind him a written confession which established the fact of Mary's innocence of her husband's death. "The bastard [Moray]," he is reported to have said to the king, "began, Morton drew, and I wove, the web of this murder."[2] There can be little room for doubt that the violence used towards the queen by Bothwell rendered her so-called marriage to him null and void. In 1575 Mary

Mary's divorce from Bothwell.

charged Bishop Leslie of Ross to obtain from Pope Gregory XIII. a formal declaration on the

[1] Cecil to Throckmorton, August 11, 1567. Record Office.

[2] Entzinger, *Mariæ Stuartæ Historia Tragicæ* (Harleian MSS., 483). Bothwell's original confession is lost, but its substance was printed by Keith from a contemporary French copy, and there are others in the British Museum (Cottonian MSS. Titus, c. vii. f. 39; and Sloane MSS.)—TRANSLATOR.

point. Five years previously there would seem to have been some negotiations about the same matter with Pius V., through an agent named William (or Henry) Keir. The alarm and anger of Queen Elizabeth were roused at this time by Sir Henry Norris, her ambassador in Paris, who forwarded to her a copy of a supposed Papal bull, which purported to divorce Mary from Bothwell, in order to enable her to marry the Duke of Anjou.[1]

Return of Moray to Scotland, August 1567.

All parties in Scotland were now anticipating the return of the important personage on whom the regency had been conferred for the period of the king's minority. Shortly before the catastrophe which in April 1567 assigned Mary to the power of his former confederate Bothwell, the Earl of Moray had left his sister to her fate, and betaken himself to France to intrigue against her. But his secret plots were masked by a show of devoted attachment to her interests; and he solemnly promised her brother-in-law, Charles IX. of France, to bring about the restoration of her crown and freedom. At the same time he was in constant communication with Admiral Coligny and the Protestant leaders, whom he visited at Geneva.[2] Archbishop Beaton, Mary's faithful friend and counsellor in Paris, entertained more

[1] Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, Preface, pp. clxvii-clxxvii) has printed various documents bearing on this obscure question.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 125. (Report to Clement VIII. by Jesuits in Scotland.) "Moray went to Geneva under pretence of a feigned religion."

than a suspicion of the double-dealing of Moray, and on this ground had urged on the French authorities that he should be detained. Moray, however, had already taken ship for England; but even had he still been within reach, it is doubtful if Charles would have ventured to arrest him. It is significant that the instructions of the French envoy De Lignerolles, who was at this time despatched to Scotland,[1] while they dwell on the importance of concluding a Franco-Scottish alliance, contain no reference to the situation of the queen. Moray remained for a few days in London, and then set out for Scotland. At Whittingham Castle, where he spent a night, he was met by Maitland, who eight months before had there planned with Bothwell the murder of Darnley. On the 11th of August the Regent-elect arrived in Edinburgh.

Visit of Moray to Lochleven.

Although secure of the support of the lords of his party, Moray at first felt, or feigned, some reluctance to accept the reins of power, alleging that before doing so he must have an interview with his sister. Accordingly he appeared at Lochleven, accompanied by Morton, Athole, and Lindsay, on the 15th of August. The imprisoned queen, whose helpless situation, if not her exalted rank, might have evoked some show at least of respect and sympathy, met only with harshness and insolence at her brother's hands.

[1] He travelled thither in company with Moray.—TRANSLATOR.

He loaded her with reproaches and injurious language; and the only words of kindness that fell from his lips were framed with the view of securing her connivance in his ambitious schemes.[1] But the allegation that Mary herself urged him to accept the regency is categorically denied in her own words, in the "Appeal to all Christian Princes" which she put forth in the following year. In this memorial the queen declares that she tried to dissuade Moray from accepting the office, and that he then threw off the mask, and told her that "he had already accepted it, and could not be excused from it."[2] However this may have been, Moray now saw his long-cherished hopes fulfilled, and the supreme power within his grasp. On the 22d of August he was proclaimed Regent at Edinburgh.

Moray proclaimed Regent.

Before many weeks had elapsed, the *quondam* Prior of St Andrews, now Regent of Scotland, came into conflict with the Catholic party. On September 18, 1567, Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane was summoned to appear in the Tolbooth, at the instance of the Lord Advocate, for the crime of saying and hearing

Prosecution of Catholics by the Government.

[1] Different accounts have been given of this noted interview; but it is well to remember that the reports of it most favourable to Moray are based entirely on the letters written to Queen Elizabeth by Throckmorton, who was of course only acquainted with Moray's own version of what passed between the queen and himself.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The "Appeal" was written at Carlisle in 1568. See Teulet, *Pièces et Documents*.

Mass, administering the sacraments, and holding communication with the Pope. The tenants and feuars of the diocese were at the same time forbidden to make any further payments to the bishop, "under pain of being held art and part with him in his wicked deeds and enormities."[1] Some time afterwards, the following ecclesiastics were summoned to appear before the Regent and Privy Council, doubtless for similar offences: Deans James Jameson and Mungo Wilson, Dryburgh; Dean Robert Mylne, Myrton; Sir James Douglas, Craling; Master John Oliver, Bedrule; Sir David Turnbull, Minto; Sir James Williamson, Yettam; Sir Robert Wilson, Morebottle; Sir William Aynslie, Maxton; Sir Andrew Curry, Bassendean; Sir John Blake, Boncle; Sir Hugh Hudson, Whitson; Dean John Lun, Coldinghame; William Ormiston, Nantharne; Sir Patrick Galbraith, Garvell; Sir Adam Sym, Little Newton; Sir John Forret, Swynton; Friar John Affleck, Greenlaw; Sir John Broun, Ednam; Dean John Watson and Sir Andrew Wright, Melrose; Sir John Ker, vicar of old Roxburgh; Master William Johnstone, Ancrum.[2] Those who obeyed the

[1] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (ed. Burton), vol. i. p. 569. "Forsamekill as William bischop of Dunblane, having nocht onlie transgressit the Actis and proclamatiounis made be the Queene oure Soverane Lordis dearest moder in saying and hering of Mass, and causing ministrate the Sacraments irreverentlie and undecentlie, as alswa passing furth of this cuntre without licence, and traffiquand with the Papis Nunce and utheris his ministeris," &c.

[2] The title "Sir," it may be mentioned, was very generally

summons were dealt with "according to their demerits," while the others were sentenced to outlawry and confiscation of goods.[1] As a result of the adoption of these rigorous measures, many of the clergy were forced to purchase their safety by the payment of heavy fines, and others sought voluntary exile abroad.[2]

The bringing about of the abdication of the queen, and the establishment of the regency, had been, as we have seen, the exclusive work of the Secret Council, constituted of a section of the nobles, who, under the pretence of avenging the murder of Darnley, really aimed at the destruction of the queen on the charge of complicity in that crime. It was now necessary, therefore, to bring

applied to the pre-Reformation secular clergy, while "Master" usually implied the possession of a university degree. The prefix of *Reverend* was not at that time bestowed indiscriminately on the "clergy of all denominations," but was, as a rule, limited to bishops. One of the charges brought against the pseudo-Bishop of Orkney, in the General Assembly of 1570, was that he had assumed the episcopal title of Reverend Father in God, "which belongs not to a minister of Christ."—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Register Priv. Counc.*, vol. ii. p. 40. The entry is noted on the margin "Anent the Preistis"; but neither offence nor penalty is clearly specified.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Cod. Barberini, xxxii. 221. (Jesuit Report to Clement VIII., A.D. 1594.) "Moravius interim comes, quia his gradibus sibi ad regni coronam viam muniebat, ministris calvinianis omnem quam poterat auctoritatem parabat, quod et illius exemplo alii regni nobiles præstiterunt. Ac ita tandem illud hominum genus, quantumvis vile et abjectum, in aliquo cœpit esse honore. Capiebantur tum Ecclesiastici et se auro cogebantur redimere, alii passim ad loca munitiora confugiebant, alii etiam, ut suæ consulerent saluti, in Galliam, Flandriam, et alias vicinas Catholicorum provincias profecti, exilium Dei causa libenter subierunt."

Parliament summoned.

this question before Parliament, which was accordingly summoned by Moray on the 15th of December 1567. The petition presented by the General Assembly, demanding to be informed as to the real cause of the queen's detention at Lochleven, required an answer;[1] and public suspicion had also been aroused by the delay manifested in taking proceedings against Bothwell. Moray by no means underestimated the danger of his present situation. He promptly deprived the Catholic representatives in Parliament of their seats, and bestowed them on Protestants.[2] On November the 22d took place the trial of the Bishop of Dunblane, who, in spite of the support and able defence of his numerous friends, was sentenced to be deprived of his see and all his property.[3] The Regent determined at the same time to prosecute Archbishop Hamilton for his alleged share in the murder of Darnley —a charge which was characterised by Archbishop Beaton as "pure calumny."[4] After frequent and prolonged deliberations of the Secret Council, Secretary Maitland was finally directed to frame the notorious Act, which, after the most hypocritical professions of love and attachment to the

Deprivation of the Bishop of Dunblane.

Act of Council against the queen.

[1] Chalmers (*Life of Queen Mary*) gives the text of the petition from the original document.

[2] Jesuit Report (Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, p. 146). [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Letter from Archbishop Beaton to the Cardinal of Lorraine, December 8, 1567 (Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. clxxxvi. See *ante*, p. 114, note.

queen's person, and of their own sorrow at being compelled to such a course, proceeded to accuse her of the blackest crimes. The cause of the taking of the queen's person on the 15th of June is stated to be "in her own default, in so far as by divers her privy letters written and subscribed with her own hand, and sent by her to James, Earl of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murder, as well before the committing thereof as thereafter; and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding to a pretended marriage with him, suddenly and unprovisedly thereafter, it is most certain that she was privy, art and part, of the actual devise and deed of the fore-named murder of the king her lawful husband."[1] It must be noted that, previous to this Act of Council, mention had been made of only one of these supposed letters of Mary to Bothwell; and further, that the lords afterwards positively declared that the letters did not come into their possession until June the 20th, several days after the queen's imprisonment at Lochleven. It is im-

The "Casket" letters.

[1] It is somewhat remarkable that the above statement of the Act of Council, that these letters were subscribed by the queen's own hand, does not appear in the subsequent Act of Parliament, which says only that they were written by her. Hosack suggests, as the reason of the discrepancy, the fact that it was perfectly well known in Scotland that Mary had *not* signed the letters; and hence the assertion that she had done so was confined to the copy of the Act of Council which was sent to England. See *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 381; Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 43.—TRANSLATOR.

possible, therefore, that their discovery could have been, as alleged, the cause of her confinement.

Meeting of Parliament, December 15, 1567.

Armed with this notable document, Moray was able to meet his first Parliament with equanimity. Every precaution had been taken, among others the large augmentation of the number of representatives of the smaller burghs, to secure the docility of the assembly. Morton presided as chancellor, and Maitland opened the proceedings by a speech in which he testified to his enthusiasm for the new government by unmeasured panegyric of the Regent, and congratulations to the realm on the peaceful manner in which the revolution had been accomplished.[1] The ecclesiastical enactments of 1560 were renewed and confirmed; the establishment of the Protestant form of religion was duly ratified; the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, save that of the Reformed faith, entirely prohibited; and the oath to maintain the true Church, and to extirpate heresy, prescribed to all future sovereigns. The question of increasing the stipends of the ministers also came before the Parliament; but it was only after violent opposition that it was agreed to restore to them a third of the benefices. The assembly likewise formally approved the abdication of the queen, the coronation of James VI., and the appointment of Moray as Regent. The

Acts in favour of Protestantism renewed.

Support of the preachers.

[1] MS. State Paper Office. An Oration of the Lord of Lethington.

production of the Act of Council regarding the queen gave rise to an exciting debate. Mary had very naturally, but of course to no purpose, expressed a desire to attend personally in Parliament and reply to the allegations brought against her.[1] Her friends Huntly, Argyle, and Herries laid a formal demand to this effect before Parliament, and it was supported also by Athole and Tullibardine. But Moray was well aware that such a request could not be granted without manifest peril to himself. He therefore gave it his determined opposition, and it was rejected by the Parliament accordingly. With so high a hand did he conduct the proceedings, that record was not even permitted to be taken of the protest made by the above-mentioned noblemen on the occasion.

Parliament and the queen.

A certain measure of satisfaction was afforded to the injured queen in the declaration made by thirty-five prelates, earls, and barons against the proposed Act of Council. It set forth that, since the accused was not allowed to be heard, nothing could be held as proved against her. Even assuming that she had really written the letters which had been brought against her in Parliament, these could not be taken to establish her guilt. It was, however, evident that the letters were forgeries, in all probability the work of the confederate lords themselves.

Protest of the queen's party.

[1] Tytler, *History*, vol. iii. p. 281.

The General Assembly.

The General Assembly met in Edinburgh about the same time as the Parliament. The superintendent of Fife, and the bishops of Galloway and Orkney, were charged with neglecting in various ways the duties of their office; and Adam Bothwell was further accused of unlawfully celebrating the marriage between his namesake and the queen. Notwithstanding that the bishop had subsequently taken vigorous part in the expedition against Bothwell, he was nevertheless suspended from his functions until he should have made due satisfaction.[1]

Suspension of Adam Bothwell.

Proceedings against Darnley's murderers.

The Regent, possessed as he now was of almost absolute authority, had every facility for discovering and bringing to justice the authors of Darnley's murder. But his conduct in the matter was far from being marked by impartial justice. The principal criminals were suffered to go unpunished, as were also the brother of the provost of Kirk-of-Field, in whose house Darnley had met his death, and Sir James Balfour, the author of the notorious bond of Craigmillar, in which the murder had been agreed upon. Balfour, the late commandant of Edinburgh Castle, had now sold

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 70-73; Keith, *Affairs*, p. 586. It was at this Assembly that the Countess of Argyle was charged with having assisted at the king's baptism "in a papistical manner"; and, having admitted that she had therein offended the eternal God and scandalised the Kirk, was sentenced to make public repentance in the Chapel-Royal, Stirling, on a Sunday at preaching-time. Keith, *Affairs*, p. 588.—TRANSLATOR.

himself to Moray's service—the price agreed upon being the sum of five thousand pounds and the priory of Pittenweem for himself, and an annuity for his son. On the delivery of the castle to Moray, the Craigmillar bond, which had been given into Balfour's custody by Bothwell, was transferred to the Regent, and at once committed to the flames.[1] Meanwhile various subordinate personages, who had been mere instruments in the hands of the originators of the crime, were summarily brought to justice. Four men, named Dalgleish, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay of Tallo, were tried for their share in the murder, and executed the same day, January 3, 1568. The two latter, in their confessions on the scaffold, made statements of a highly compromising character—Hepburn declaring that the Craigmillar bond was subscribed by Huntly, Argyle, and Maitland, while Hay named Maitland and Balfour as chiefly responsible for the murder.

Trial and execution of four accomplices.

These revelations, as may easily be supposed, did not increase the public confidence in the government of the Regent, whose harsh treatment of the queen had already somewhat rudely shaken his popularity. In order to strengthen himself against an outbreak of discontent, which under existing circumstances seemed not improbable, he saw the expediency of establishing friendly relations abroad. The alliance of Queen

Public feeling against the Regent.

[1] *State Papers*, Drury to Cecil, November 28, 1567.

His negotiations with Elizabeth,

Elizabeth of England was sought in rather questionable fashion. The Regent, who had taken the crown from his sister's head, thought himself entitled also to dispose of her personal ornaments. He accordingly sent Nicolas Elphinstone to London, with orders to offer for sale to Elizabeth a number of Queen Mary's jewels, including some valuable pearls.[1] The Queen of England selected the finest of these, and agreed to pay Moray for them some three-fourths of their real value. Here, however, the matter ended, for she declined to bind herself to an alliance with the Regent.

and with the Court of France.

Moray's overtures to the French Court met with no better success. Mary de Medici, the queen-mother, was as well acquainted as Elizabeth with the state of popular feeling in Scotland towards the Regent, and, like her, was not inclined to commit herself to any definite policy in his favour.

The immediate consequence of the parliamentary enactments of December 1567, was an aggravation of the rigour of Mary's imprisonment. Notwithstanding this, she continued to enjoy good health, and found in the assiduous practice of her religion, as a letter from Archbishop Beaton to Cardinal Guise informs us, a relief from the irksomeness of her long confinement.[2] At length, however,

[1] Moray had obtained possession of his sister's jewels on the occasion of his visit to her at Lochleven.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, Preface, p. clxxxvi. "According to what my brother writes to me, she has begun to serve God better, and with more devotion and greater diligence than she had been wont to do some time previously."

on the evening of May 1, 1568, in spite of all the precautions of her jailers, with the help of Lord Seton, John Beaton (brother to the Archbishop of Glasgow), and George and William Douglas, the sons of the Lady of Lochleven,[1] Mary contrived to effect her escape. Lord Claud Hamilton and a body of cavaliers met her at Queensferry, and conducted her to Lord Seton's castle of West Niddry. Thence she proceeded to Hamilton, where she was welcomed with loyal enthusiasm by the Archbishop of St Andrews and a large gathering of nobles and gentlemen.

Escape of Mary from Lochleven, May 1, 1568.

Although the confederate lords had left no stone unturned in order to destroy the fair fame of their sovereign, and to load her with the blackest crimes, it was yet clear at this juncture that many faithful hearts still beat for her, and that the work of the calumniators to some extent had failed. The Earl of Huntly and Lord Ogilvy were making ready in the north, while in the south the Earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Rothes, and Eglinton, and Lords Borthwick, Seton, Somerville, Claud Hamilton, Livingstone, Fleming, Herries, Yester, and Ross, rallied round the queen. The majority of these nobles were Protestants; and it has justly been pointed out that no circumstance in the life of Mary Stuart is more remark-

Strength of Queen Mary's cause.

[1] William (commonly called Willie) Douglas was an adopted child: he was probably a foundling who had taken his benefactor's name.—TRANSLATOR.

able than this. "That in spite of all the efforts of Moray and his faction," observes Mr Hosack,[1] "and in spite of all the violence of the preachers, she—the Catholic Queen of Scotland, the daughter of the hated house of Guise, the reputed mortal enemy of their religion—should now, after being maligned as the most abandoned of her sex, find her best friends among her own Protestant subjects, appears at first sight inexplicable. A phenomenon so strange admits of only one explanation. If throughout her reign she had not loyally kept her promises of security and toleration to her Protestant subjects, they assuredly would not in her hour of need have risked their lives and fortunes in her defence."

Preparations for the final struggle.

The Regent was in Glasgow when he received the news of the queen's escape from Lochleven, and subsequent movements. Moray saw at once the danger of delay, and the fact that his safety depended on preventing the junction of Huntly with the royal forces in the south. Mary's first step had been to require his resignation of the regency; and on his refusal to comply, she formally declared, in presence of the nobles and gentlemen of her party, that her abdication had been extorted from her by fear, and was therefore null and void. On the 8th of May 1568, a bond was drawn up at Hamilton, and subscribed by nine bishops, nine earls, eighteen lords, and twelve

[1] *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 388.

abbots and priors, who therein solemnly engaged to defend the rights of the queen with all the means at their command.[1] Mary had thus on her side a large part of the nobility of Scotland; and if she seemed anxious for delay, it was only in order further to strengthen her cause by the reinforcements she expected from abroad. The interest of Moray, on the other hand, was to hurry matters to a crisis; and a decisive engagement between the opposing forces was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, on the 13th of May. Unfortunately for Mary, Argyle, who commanded her army, proved utterly incompetent, owing, it is supposed, to his having been seized by an epileptic fit; and the heavy losses sustained in the impetuous charge led by Lord Claud Hamilton turned the scale in favour of the Regent. The queen, who had watched the fight from a neighbouring eminence, would have taken refuge, when she saw that her cause was lost, in the fortress of Dumbarton; but the approaches to it were held by the enemy. Following the advice of Lord Herries, she hastily made her way to Galloway, attended by that nobleman and Lords Fleming and Livingstone, as well as by George Douglas and the page Willie, who had helped her to escape from Lochleven. At Dundrennan Abbey she was met by Archbishop Hamilton and other fugitives

Battle of Langside, May 13, 1568.

Defeat and flight of the queen.

[1] Keith (*Affairs*, p. 475) prints the bond, from a copy in the British Museum (*Calig.*, c. i.)

from the battle-field, and learned from them the melancholy particulars of the fatal fight.[1]

Mary's resolve to take refuge in England.

Mary was now firmly resolved to turn her back on Scotland, and had made up her mind to throw herself on the protection of her cousin the English queen. Her loyal followers met the announcement of this determination with the most earnest opposition. Archbishop Hamilton and the lords who were present tried every means of dissuasion, and at length begged the queen to certify in writing that it was not by their advice that she had determined on taking so hazardous a step. Mary remained deaf to all the arguments of her friends. She seemed attracted towards Elizabeth by a kind of spell; and on the 15th of May she addressed to that princess the fatal letter in which she described her as the only hope she had left on earth.[2] Past experience should at least have warned Mary to await an answer to her letter, and not to act until she had received it. But even this slight measure of precaution was neglected. On the following day, May the 16th, the queen and her little escort, in all eighteen persons, crossed the Solway Firth in a small fishing-smack, and landed at Workington, on the coast of Cumberland.

Her arrival in Cumberland.

[1] Lords Seton and Ross were taken prisoners, as well as fifty-two gentlemen of the name of Hamilton alone.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth (May 15, 1568). "I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness."—TRANSLATOR.

Still following the dictates of her heart, Mary, on the day following her arrival on English soil, addressed a second letter to Elizabeth, in which she describes in moving terms her destitute condition, and implores her royal cousin's assistance.[1] Meanwhile Lowther, the deputy-governor of the West Marches, came to meet the Queen of Scots at Workington, and escorted her to Carlisle Castle, where apartments were assigned to her. Mary was duly grateful for this mark of attention, which, however, was quite enough to rouse the sensitive jealousy of the English queen. Lowther was in consequence visited with so heavy a fine, that to meet it he was compelled to part with two estates.[2]

Mary's appeal to Elizabeth.

Nor did the vigilance of Elizabeth end here. So early as the 19th of May she despatched orders to the sheriffs of Cumberland, commanding them to treat the Queen of Scots and her suite with due honour, but at the same time to keep a strict watch and prevent any escape.[3] These directions augured the commencement of Mary's long imprisonment of nineteen years. On no account was her removal from safe custody to be per-

Policy of the Queen of England.

[1] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. i. No. 1 (May 17, 1568). "I entreat you to send for me as soon as possible, for I am in a pitiable condition, not only for a queen, but even for a gentlewoman, . . . as I hope to be able to show you, if it please you to have compassion of my great misfortunes."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 391.

[3] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. i. No. 7. The Council of the North, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, to the Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, &c., of Cumberland.

mitted. "The surety of the Queen of Scots," wrote Cecil immediately on the news of her reaching England becoming known, "is first to be considered, that by no practice she should be conveyed out of the realm."[1] We have here a glimpse of the policy of the same crafty statesman at whose instance, seven years before, Elizabeth of England had sent out a fleet of cruisers to intercept the hapless Queen of Scots on her voyage from France to Scotland.[2] In order to carry on the deceit, Mary's sojourn at Carlisle was made to appear an honourable custody rather than the imprisonment it really was. Lady Scroope, sister to the Duke of Norfolk, was appointed to attend on her; while Lord Scroope succeeded to the office previously held by Lowther, his colleague being Sir Francis Knollys, Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain and cousin by marriage. Scroope and Knollys arrived at Carlisle on May the 29th, bringing letters from their mistress to Queen Mary, which indicated with sufficient plainness the intentions of the English monarch. Elizabeth expressed regret that she could not receive the Queen of Scots at her Court until cleared of the suspicion of her husband's murder. She gave her, moreover, plainly to understand that the interference of the French Government in the affairs of Scotland could not be permitted, as she re-

Refusal to receive Mary at the English Court.

[1] Cotton. MSS., Caligula, c. i. f. 66. (Hosack, *loc. cit.*)

[2] See *ante*, p. 22.

served to herself the decision of the pending questions. The perusal of these letters was a bitter blow to Mary's hopes, and she could not restrain the expression of her disappointment.[1] Little room was now left her to doubt that her life was henceforth at the mercy of her rival.[2]

Queen Elizabeth and the Regent.

The Queen of England, in fact, and the Regent Moray, were both bent on accomplishing the same end—namely, the ultimate destruction of Mary Stuart. Moray was only too willing to play into Elizabeth's hands. He commissioned his secretary, John Wood, to convey to the English Court copies of the letters incriminating the Queen of Scots, in order that they might be submitted to the examination of the Privy Council.[3] The 20th

[1] Knollys and Scroope to Queen Elizabeth (Cotton. MSS., Calig., f. 79). "After our delivery of your Highness's letters she fell into some passion, and with the water in her eyes . . . she complained to us that your Highness did not answer her expectation for admitting her into your presence forthwith."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Elizabeth's real policy seems to have been sufficiently well understood by the Spanish ambassador in France. The nuncio at Paris thus reports a conversation with him, writing to Mgr. Rossano, his colleague in Madrid, on June 11, 1568: "Di modo che no si può dubitar che quelle dimostrazioni d'amorevolezza della Regina d'Inghilterra sieno finte, et ch'ella sia d'accordo sol suo consiglio . . . perchè se quella Regina si lascia in Inghilterra, si può aver poco speranza che la Scotia ritorni mai alla religione Cattolica."—(*Arch. Vatic., Nunt. di Spagna*, vol. iii. p. 39.)

[3] "Therefore," writes Moray to Cecil, June 22, 1568, "since our servant, Mr John Wood, has the copies of the same letters [inculpating Mary in Darnley's murder] translatit in our language, we would earnestly desire that the said copies may be considered by the judges."—Goodall, vol. ii. p. 75 (Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 228, note).

Resolutions of the Privy Council.

of June 1568 was an eventful day in Mary's fortunes, for on that date the Council gave its final decision as to her case. It was resolved that, for greater security, she should be removed from Carlisle to the interior of England, and that the Queen of England should be made fully acquainted with the questions pending between Mary and her subjects. "For the avoiding of all mistakes"—or to preserve an appearance of impartiality—the ambassadors of foreign Powers were to be permitted to attend the inquiry. After referring to the danger that would be incurred by Mary proceeding to France; to her refusal, eight years before, to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh; and to her marriage with an English lord against the wish of the Queen of England, the resolutions conclude as follows: "That neither the queen's majesty, with honour or surety to herself, nor yet with quietness of the realm, give her [Queen Mary] aid, nor permit her to come to her presence, nor to be restored, nor to depart this realm, before her cause be honourably tried."[1] Mary, whose confidence in the goodwill of her sister of England appeared to be still unshaken,

Mary agrees to a conference.

accepted, on July the 28th, the proposal of a conference for the settlement of her case. So fatal a concession could only spring from the natural trustfulness and compliance which animated Mary Stuart in all her dealings with those

[1] Cotton. MSS., Caligula, c. i. f. 103. (Hosack, *op. cit.*, p. 392.)

who professed, whether truly or falsely, to be her friends. It was a characteristic which never abandoned her, and which testifies to the candour and unselfishness of her nature; but it was, unhappily, taken advantage of by crafty and unscrupulous antagonists such as Elizabeth and Moray, and ultimately used as a means to bring about her ruin.

On the very same day that Mary signified her consent to the proposals of Elizabeth, an event, strangely enough, was taking place in Scotland, which, had she understood how to take advantage of it, might even yet have turned the scale in her favour. The rule of the Regent had been growing day by day more insupportable. A deep-laid conspiracy against his life had been discovered and suppressed; but when he further proposed to lay before Parliament a measure for the proscription of all Mary's adherents in Scotland, Argyle, Huntly, and Hamilton at once proceeded to unite in defence of their party. At the instance of these nobles, a convention of the queen's supporters met at Largs on July the 28th. A letter, signed by twenty-six prelates, nobles, and others, was addressed by the assembly to the Duke of Alva, with urgent appeals for assistance.[1] Another letter was despatched to Elizabeth, protesting against the detention of the Queen of Scots,

Convention of the queen's party in Scotland.

[1] *State Papers*, Elizabeth (Scotl.), vol. xv. No. 52; Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, Preface, p. cxciv.

and praying "that she might be restored to them, as everything went wrong in her absence."[1] The Hamiltons next proceeded to regain possession of their ancestral castle, which had been seized by Moray; and Huntly and Argyle were already in the field, at the head of nearly 10,000 men. The power of the Regent seemed, in fact, on the point of collapsing even before Parliament met, when, at this critical moment, Mary, still deluded as to Elizabeth's real sentiments towards her, ordered her loyal subjects to disperse without proceeding to hostilities. This, however, they declined to do until they had obtained, through Elizabeth, the Regent's promise to desist on his side from hostile measures, and to abandon the proposed Parliament. Mary, on being assured by Elizabeth that the Parliament would not proceed against her adherents, but would occupy itself solely with the choice of deputies for the approaching conference, called on her friends to lay down their arms. Moray, on the other hand, so far from complying with these stipulations, at once assembled the Parliament; and the Archbishop of St Andrews, Bishop Leslie of Ross, Lord Claud Hamilton, and several others, were duly declared traitors, and condemned to forfeiture. It was thus that the Regent met the pacific advances of his sister and sovereign, and fulfilled the engagements which Elizabeth had made on his behalf.

Impeachment of Archbishop Hamilton and Bishop Leslie.

[1] Wright's *Elizabeth;* Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 196.

The commissioners for the conference.

Moray having now done what he could for the discomfiture of the party of the queen, and Mary having already pledged her word to abide by the proposed conference, it only remained for each side to appoint their respective commissioners. Mary named as her representatives the Bishop of Ross, Lords Boyd, Herries, and Livingstone, the Abbot of Kilwinning,[1] Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling. Of these the ablest and most faithful was Bishop Leslie, whose views, however, at this time, were not in accordance with those of his royal mistress; for to the plan of having recourse to a judicial inquiry such as now proposed, he greatly preferred a policy of friendly mediation, which he indeed employed himself on several subsequent occasions. On behalf of the Regent, Moray himself appeared, attended by a following of persons whose interests were linked in the closest manner to his person and policy. His commissioners were Morton, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and Robert Pitcairn, Abbot of Dunfermline.[2] Secretary Maitland, together with Buchanan (now in

[1] Gavin Hamilton, a Protestant, who held also the Deanery of Glasgow. He was killed in a riot in the Canongate, Edinburgh, in 1571.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Pitcairn was lay commendator of the Abbey. He was married in 1577, and died in 1584. The epitaph on his tomb in the Abbey Church styles him Abbot of Dunfermline, Archdeacon of St Andrews, royal ambassador, and secretary to his Majesty [James VI.] In the two latter capacities he was concerned with many important State matters.—TRANSLATOR.

the pay of the confederate lords), James Macgill and Henry Balnaves, both lawyers notoriously hostile to the Queen of Scots, were named assistant-commissioners. It was, doubtless, dread of the influence that some of these personages might exert in Scotland during his absence that induced the Regent to take them with him to York.[1] Queen Elizabeth named as her commissioners Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the astute chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Mary's bitter foe. The Queen of Scots wrote to Elizabeth on September 1, protesting against the appointment of Sadler,—"one who had at all times acted as her enemy."[2] Norfolk, on the other hand, she had every reason to believe to be well disposed towards her. His father had suffered imprisonment and death at the hands of Henry VIII.; his grandfather, the third duke, had been the recognised leader of the English Catholics under Edward VI. and Mary; and he himself, although he had been educated in the Anglican belief, was universally believed to have strong leanings to Catholicism. He had, moreover, been recommended as a suitable husband to Mary before her marriage with Darnley, and now it was

[1] Morton, in particular, and Maitland, accessory as both had been to the murder of Darnley, could hardly have been left behind with safety.

[2] Mary to Elizabeth, September 1, 1568; Labanoff, *Recueil de Lettres de Marie Stuart.*

easy for her to communicate with him through the medium of his sister, Lady Scroope, who was in constant attendance upon her. All these were circumstances calculated to inspire Mary with a belief in his friendly disposition towards herself and her cause, and to lead her to anticipate with lively confidence a happy issue to the conference.

Instructions of Mary to her commissioners.

Queen Mary's instructions to her commissioners were detailed and precise, and they contain one article—the seventh—which is especially noteworthy, as expressing in clear and unmistakable language the queen's own view of the principal accusation against her. It runs thus: "In case they allege they have any writings of mine which may infer presumptions against me, ye shall desire that the principals be produced, and that I myself may have inspection thereof and make answer thereto; for ye shall affirm in my name I never wrote anything concerning that matter to any creature: and if any such writings there be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves to my dishonour and slander; and there are persons in Scotland, both men and women, who can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing which I use as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves; and I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, I should before now have discovered the inventors and writers of such

writings, to the declaration of my innocence, and the confusion of their falsehood." [1]

Opening of the York conference.

The conference opened at York, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, on October 1, 1568. The Bishop of Ross and his colleagues

Complaint of the Queen of Scots.

presented a complaint on behalf of the Queen of Scots, setting forth in clear and concise terms that the Earl of Morton and his confederates had taken her prisoner and confined her in Lochleven Castle; and further, that the Earl of Moray had taken upon himself the regency, with the result that she had been compelled to come to England to seek the assistance and support of the queen, "her dearest sister and cousin." The statement of the commissioners did not touch upon the question of Darnley's murder, which, it was naturally supposed, would be the main point relied upon by Moray in his defence.

Reply of the Regent.

This anticipation, however, was not fulfilled. The Regent appeared either unwilling or unable to meet the implied challenge of the Queen of Scots to produce his proofs of her alleged complicity in her husband's death. Had he been really convinced of the authenticity of those proofs, there seemed no possible reason for his refusal to bring them forward. As to the plea (alleged long afterwards) of his supposed tender reluctance to expose his sister to so gross a

[1] Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. pp. 401, 402; Labanoff, tom. ii. p. 202.

charge, it becomes absolutely worthless when we remember that he had already, in his notorious Act of Council, branded her as guilty before the whole country.

On October the 9th, Moray replied to the queen's complaint in terms which indicated with sufficient clearness the embarrassed position in which he found himself. After referring to the death of Darnley, Mary's subsequent marriage to Bothwell, and the bond entered into by the confederate lords to punish Bothwell for his crimes, the defence went on to animadvert on Mary's conduct after the meeting at Carberry Hill. She had refused, it was said, to agree to a divorce from Bothwell, but had, on the contrary, severely threatened all who were against him; and they had therefore placed her in confinement until justice should be done on the murderers of the king. Wearied with the cares of government, she had voluntarily abdicated in favour of her dear son, and had "constituted me, the Lord of Moray, being then absent furth of the realm, and without my knowledge, Regent." These transactions had been ratified by Parliament; but nevertheless certain lords, notwithstanding their previous assent, had afterwards assisted the queen in her flight from Lochleven, the ultimate failure of which enterprise, however, was a clear proof of the iniquity of their cause.

With reference to these extraordinary asser-

Falsity of Moray's statements.

tions, it is unnecessary to do more than remind the reader, first, that Mary's abdication, so far from being spontaneous, was only forced from her, when crushed under close confinement, by the brutal violence of Lindsay and Ruthven; and secondly, that she never appointed Moray to the regency. If the Duke of Norfolk, who presided at the conference, did not perceive the utter untenableness of such grounds of accusation, which could never have passed muster in Scotland, the fact only proves how little acquaintance the English commissioners really had with the true state of affairs.[1]

Rejoinder of the queen's commissioners.

Queen Mary's commissioners found little difficulty in replying to the allegations of the Regent. As regarded Bothwell, they declared that if he were indeed Darnley's murderer, the queen was entirely ignorant of the fact; that the very same men who now appeared as his accusers had recommended him as the fittest husband she could find in all the realm of Scotland, and immediately after her marriage had risen in arms against her; that Mary, trusting in the sincerity of the assurances given her by Kirkaldy of Grange, had gone over to the lords at Carberry Hill, and that they, instead of taking Bothwell prisoner on the spot, had not only allowed him to ride quietly away, but had never subsequently endeavoured to capture him until he had left Scotland; that the queen,

[1] Opitz, *Maria Stuart*, vol. i. p. 291.

deceived by the fair words of Kirkaldy and Morton, had relied on the truth and honour of the confederate lords, and after the shameful deception practised on her, "it was no wonder that her majesty had given them quick and sharp answers." So far from having resigned the crown of her own free will, she had only yielded to the pressing representations of the Earl of Athole, the Lairds of Tullibardine and Grange, Sir Robert Melville, and the English ambassador, Throgmorton—all of whom had urged her to consent to abdicate, as the sole means of saving her life. Not a tenth part of the nobles and clergy entitled to vote in Parliament had attended at the coronation of her son. The commissioners further pointed out that even had Mary, after her abdication, nominated Moray to the regency, such nomination would have been null and void, since there were others entitled, by the law of Scotland, to be appointed to the office in preference to him; and, finally, that in the Parliament summoned by Moray, several of the nobles had protested against enactments derogatory to her rights and privileges as Queen of Scots, but that such protestations had been suppressed by her enemies.[1]

The above reply was handed in on the 16th of October, and its arguments were obviously unassailable. Moray and his commissioners were doubtless prepared for some such rejoinder, and

[1] Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. pp. 405, 406.

Documents produced against Mary.

their next expedient was the production[1] of a very questionable collection of documents intended to establish Mary's guilt. These included a copy of the Aynslie-bond, unsigned; a warrant, said to be subscribed by the queen, authorising the nobles to sign the bond in question; two marriage-contracts between Mary and Bothwell, one alleged to be in the handwriting of Huntly, Lady Bothwell's brother; certain poems or sonnets, in French, said to be the queen's; and, finally, five letters from the queen to Bothwell. The circumstance is to be noted that these latter documents, written in the Scottish language, were produced by Moray as originals; and this, although two months previously he had written informing Cecil that the letters in question (which he had intrusted to John Wood for transmission to England) were copies translated from the French. "These men," wrote Elizabeth's commissioners from York, "do continually maintain that the letters, which they put forward as being written by her own hand, are truly hers; and they make offer to confirm the truth thereof by an oath." Yet the same men who now produced these Scottish letters privately at York, brought them forward publicly at Westminster, a few months later, *written in French*, with the equally positive assertion that these were the originals written by Mary. Careful examina-

[1] Not, however, in public: they were privately exhibited to Norfolk and the other English commissioners.—TRANSLATOR.

tion of these various incriminating documents has convinced unprejudiced inquirers that they are little better than a mass of forgeries. For our present purpose it will be sufficient to pass briefly in review, one by one, these strange testimonies to the supposed guilt of the Scottish queen.

The existence of a royal warrant authorising the subscriptions to the notorious Aynslie-bond, was a fact whose importance Moray and his followers were not likely to underrate. Such a document, if really authentic, would have supplied the party of the Regent with an irresistible weapon against the queen. Yet we hear of it only once—namely, as produced by Moray at his private conference with the English commissioners at York. After this it disappears for ever. Two of the queen's commissioners, it must be remembered—namely, Lords Boyd and Herries—had been present at Aynslie's supper, and had subscribed the bond at the instance of Bothwell. They were therefore, of course, in a position to confirm the authenticity, or otherwise, of the document now produced. But they were given no opportunity of doing so, and at the subsequent conference at Westminster nothing whatever was heard of the pretended warrant. The Aynslie-bond warrant.

Of the two copies of the marriage-contract between Mary and Bothwell, which were produced by Moray at York, one (discovered by Goodall in The marriage-contracts.

the British Museum) is written in French, and bears Mary's signature only. It is not, in fact, a contract at all, but a mere promise on the part of the Queen of Scots to take Bothwell to husband. The document is without date or witness, and bears every mark of being a forgery.[1] The same may safely be said of the second contract, which is written in Scotch, and bears the signatures both of Mary and Bothwell. Its real author has, in fact, himself supplied sufficient proof of its falsity; for whereas it is known on uncontestable evidence that Bothwell's divorce case was not introduced until the 27th of April, the contract, which is dated on the 5th of that month, speaks of the process as already going on. The true marriage-contract between Mary and Bothwell, printed by Hosack[2] from the original in the royal archives, is dated the 14th of May, and is subscribed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earls of Huntly (chancellor), Crawford, and Rothes, Lords Fleming and Herries, the Bishops of Ross and Galloway, and others.

The sonnets.

The twelve love-sonnets, written in French, which were also brought forward as evidence of Mary's guilt, purported to be addressed by her to Bothwell. But even the severest censor of her moral character might well hesitate to believe that

[1] Hosack, *op. cit.*, Appendix E., p. 556 (from the Cotton. MSS., Calig., c. i. f. 207). The signature is said to be certainly not that of the queen, but an imitation.

[2] Hosack, pp. 558-562.

she could ever sink so low as to pen these fatuous lines. There is absolutely nothing in her previous life which could justify us in crediting her with the authorship of effusions such as the ninth of these sonnets, which celebrates the outrage offered to Mary at Dunbar by her brutal lover. They are, on the contrary, evidently to be traced to the same source whence originated the infamous *Detectio* of her slanderer, Buchanan, as well as the notorious Glasgow letters.[1]

The Glasgow letters.

Two out of the five letters produced by Moray at York were said to have been addressed by Mary to Bothwell from Glasgow, at the end of January 1567.[2] Particular weight was attached by Moray's commissioners to these letters, which were held to offer irrefragable evidence of the queen's complicity in the murder of Darnley. "They showed unto us," Norfolk and his colleagues reported to Queen Elizabeth, "a horrible and long letter, 'of her own hand,' as they say, containing foul matter, and abominable to be either thought of or written by a prince." As a matter of fact, it is impossible that Mary could have written the letter in question. On chronological grounds, as well as from internal evidence, it can be clearly shown to have been undoubtedly the work of a forger.[3]

[1] For the text of these sonnets, see Hosack, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Appendix F. Brantôme, who was well qualified to judge, speaks of them as "much below Mary's style, to which they have not the slightest resemblance."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See *ante*, p. 112, note. [3] Opitz, *Maria Stuart*, vol. i. p. 292.

Chronological difficulties in the way of their authenticity.

According to Moray's diary (which was produced at the Westminster conference), the queen left Edinburgh on Tuesday the 21st of January 1567, to visit her husband Darnley at Glasgow, where he was lying ill of smallpox, although on the way to recovery. Mary reached Glasgow on Thursday evening the 23d, and, after a stay of three days, left, in company with Darnley, on Monday the 27th. Taking Moray's own chronology as correct, we at once find the question of Mary's supposed letters to Bothwell involved in hopeless contradictions and difficulties. Internal evidence shows that the second letter was begun on Saturday the 25th, and finished next day. It could not, however, have been completed till the evening of the 26th, for the writer speaks of having wrought at a bracelet until two in the afternoon, and ends with the words "it is very late." The letter could not therefore have reached Bothwell sooner than the 27th; and as the diary expressly mentions that he was on that day seventy miles from Edinburgh, having been at Liddesdale from the night of the 24th to the 28th, it is impossible that he should have sent an answer to Mary from Edinburgh, as was stated in the deposition against her. Again, how could the queen, with all her presumed infatuation for Bothwell, possibly complain, as she does in the first letter[1] (dated

[1] "It appears that with your absence there is also joyned forget-

the 25th January) of his forgetfulness in neglecting to write to her? According to the diary, he had only parted from her on the 23d to return to Edinburgh, where, on the next day, he was preparing the house at Kirk-of-Field to receive Darnley. And here we meet with another insurmountable difficulty; for in the same letter Mary announces her intention to bring her husband on the Monday to Craigmillar, *according to her commission*. She could have had no such commission from Bothwell; for on the day before her letter was written, he was making ready to receive his victim, not at Craigmillar, but at Kirk-of-Field.[1]

Internal evidence against the Glasgow letters.

Apart, however, from these chronological contradictions, which no ingenuity can explain away, many expressions in the letters themselves bear the mark of forgery on their face. Prominent among these are the coarse allusions to the guilty intimacy of the queen with Bothwell,[2] and the open conversation on the same subject between Lord Lindsay and Lady Reres, who is thus made to connive at her mistress's misconduct. Lady Reres, who was sister to Lady Buccleuch and a niece of Cardinal Beaton, was afterwards obliged

fulness, seeing that at your departing you promised to make me advertisement of your news from time to time."

[1] Opitz, *Maria Stuart*, vol. i. p. 299.

[2] It is perfectly incredible that Mary herself could have penned these expressions, which represent her (as Hosack not a whit too strongly observes) "with the morals of a Messalina, and manners that would disgrace a kitchen-wench."—TRANSLATOR.

to resign her position, as attendant on the queen, to Lady Coldingham, Bothwell's sister. Although she plainly expressed her dissatisfaction at this proceeding, she is not reported to have said anything reflecting on Mary's honour or reputation. It would have been undoubtedly to Moray's interest to have subjected such a supposed abettor of the queen's guilt to close examination, but we do not find that such a course was ever taken.

Conclusion as to the authenticity of the documents.

As to the other letters alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, their authenticity rests on no better evidence than that of the two we have been discussing. What, then, is our general conclusion regarding these so-called Casket letters? We say so-called, because it must be remembered that mere scraps of detached writing, without date or signature, were included in that category, and were adduced in proof of the guilt of a princess who, after nineteen years' imprisonment in a foreign land, was finally to be the victim of a judicial murder. Let those who wish to study the letters of Mary Stuart, as they really were, betake themselves to the seven volumes which Prince Labanoff has devoted entirely to them.[1] Mary was not only a voluminous correspondent, she was one of the most accom-

[1] Labanoff, whose life was devoted to the verification of Queen Mary's correspondence, rejects the Casket letters altogether, on the simple but sufficient ground that "there is nothing to prove their authenticity."—TRANSLATOR.

plished and elegant letter-writers of the sixteenth, or any other, century. There is nothing irreconcilable with her character and history in the supposition that she may have in some of her letters given free expression to the tenderest feelings of affection. But that she could have stooped to pen such an effusion as the longer letter from Glasgow is morally, as well as metaphysically, impossible; and we may add that the genuineness of this document, which was the real basis of all the charges against Mary, is entirely given up by the most recent German Protestant historians.[1]

The English commissioners and the Casket letters.

It is highly important to notice what was the impression made upon the English commissioners by the documents which were submitted to them by Moray. We have from the pen of one of them an expression of opinion on the subject which deserves to be recorded. The distinguished soldier and statesman, Thomas Earl of Sussex, writing to Cecil on October 22d, declared that he doubted whether any charge would be actually brought against the Queen of Scots. "For that," he adds, "if her adverse party accuse her of the murder by producing of her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the most of them of manifest consent to the murder, hardly to be denied; so as, upon

[1] Cardauns, *Histor. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1882, pp. 445 *seq.* See also "Zur Maria Stuart-Frage," an article by the present author in *Histor.-Polit. Blätter*, 1883, vol. xci. pp. 208 *seq.*

the trial on both sides, *her proofs will judicially fall best out*, as it is thought."[1]

Measures proposed by the Privy Council.

On October 30, 1568, the English Privy Council met at Hampton Court, to decide on what further measures were to be taken in the affairs of Queen Mary, in order to carry out the prearranged policy of Elizabeth and her crafty minister Cecil. Mary herself to be kept in still closer custody, and for this end to be removed to Tutbury, a castle of great strength in Staffordshire: the incriminating letters to be produced in public against her; the strengthening of the English Commission by the addition of the following members—the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Essex, Leicester, and Bedford, Lord Clinton, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay; and, finally, the transference of the conference from York to Westminster,—such were the measures resolved on by the Council. The Duke of Norfolk was to remain president. The addition of so many names to the commission is the more remarkable, as on this occasion there was no mention of permitting the presence of any foreign ambassadors, as had been sanctioned by the Council on the 22d of June.[2] Judging, in fact, from the terms of Sussex's letter already quoted, there was every reason to suppose that the ambassadors of France and Spain, if admitted to

[1] Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 458.

[2] See *ante*, p. 168.

the proceedings, would view the alleged proofs of Mary's guilt in the same light as Sussex himself. It was, further, determined that Moray, as soon as he had produced the documents, should be desired to return to Scotland, on the ground that the Government there required his presence.

Behaviour of Queen Elizabeth.

The conduct of Queen Elizabeth at this juncture leaves no doubt as to her real policy and intentions. The Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, as commissioners for Queen Mary, signified their consent to the transference of the conference to Westminster, on the understanding that it was in no sense to be considered a judicial trial, and also that the Queen of England would not give personal audience to Moray, with whom were Maitland and MacGill. Elizabeth gave the required promise, but with no intention of keeping it. Her honour forbade her to admit to her presence the Queen of Scots; but she did not scruple to receive the real instigator of the murder of Darnley. Mary, through her commissioners, protested energetically against this violation of a solemn engagement; and she directed them to require of Queen Elizabeth, in the presence of the English nobles and ambassadors of foreign powers, that she should be confronted with her accusers before them all, in order to defend herself against the calumnies of her rebellious subjects.[1] To this

[1] Letter of Queen Mary to her Commissioners (Cotton. MSS., Titus, c. 12).

reasonable demand Elizabeth, while admitting that "the matter was weighty," returned only equivocal and ambiguous replies.

Reopening of the conference at Westminster.

Meanwhile the conference had reopened at Westminster on November 26; and Moray, after protestations of affection for his sister and of the reluctance with which he acted, proceeded formally to charge her with having contrived and incited the murder of Darnley, "intending also the destruction of her son." Three days later the Regent's party was strengthened by the arrival of the Earl of Lennox, who joined in the accusation against Mary, demanding justice on her for the death of his son, who had been a subject of the Queen of England. Why, it may be asked, did not Lennox prefer his charge before the proper legal tribunals, since it had been expressly declared by Elizabeth that the conference had no judicial authority? His appearance at Westminster must have been with the queen's sanction; and the fact of his being permitted to bring his accusation there could not but have the effect of impressing the English commissioners with the belief that they were really sitting as judges in the case.

Protest of Queen Mary's commissioners.

Failing to obtain any favourable answer to their demand that the Queen of Scots should be allowed to plead her cause in person, her commissioners loudly protested that every principle of justice and reason required that the accused

person should be present when the accuser brought forward his evidence of the charge. The English Government, in order to extricate themselves from the dilemma in which they were placed, appear to have taken legal advice as to whether it was expedient to comply with Mary's request.[1] The eminent jurists who were consulted on the point were honest enough to express their opinion that every facility should be given to the Queen of Scots to defend her cause, so that no exception might afterwards be taken to the justice of the proceedings.[2] Although a number of the English commissioners, including Norfolk, Sussex, Arundel, Leicester, and Clinton, assented to this view, Cecil nevertheless refused to act upon it, as not being in harmony with the wishes of the Queen of Eng-

Legal view of the case.

[1] It would seem more probable that the legal opinion was sought, not at the instance of the Government, but (as Hosack conjectures) by the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénélon, who was known to regard the proceedings at Westminster with grave suspicion.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The opinion was given in reply to the following questions: "1. Que la Royne d'Escoce demande estre ouye personellement en sa cause. 2. N'advouant toutefois q'autre que Dieu ayt jurisdiction sur elle. 3. Et qu'elle puysse desduyre son faict devant la Royne d'Angleterre sa bonne sœur. 4. En présence de la noblesse du dict pays d'Angleterre. 5. A ce assistans les ambassadeurs de France et d'Espaigne. 6. En ceste ville de Londres." The jurists' reply was as follows: "Nous estimons ceste volontaire offre d'estre ouye si importante que sommes d'advis qu'on luy concède tout ce qu'elle demande, ne contrevenant en rien à la Royne d'Angleterre et ne préjudiciant à sa Majesté, affin que personne n'ait que dire de la façon de procéder qu'on aura tenu en cette affaire."—Despatch of Fénélon to the Queen-mother, November 22, 1568. (Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. Appendix M.)

land. At length, finding it impossible to obtain a satisfactory reply to their demands, the representatives of Queen Mary, on the 6th of December, declined to proceed with the conference, which they declared at an end, formally protesting at the same time against the action of the other side. The protest urged, in forcible but temperate terms, the injustice of bringing the Queen of Scots to judgment without permitting her to be heard; but Cecil, on the ground that one passage in it was derogatory to his mistress, refused to let it be presented until the objectionable expressions were expunged. The crafty statesman thus gained his end; for in the meanwhile he arranged that Moray should produce his incriminating documents, which step would, as he foresaw, effectually prevent any possibility of reconciliation between the opposing parties.

The Book of Articles.

It was reserved for our own times to witness the publication of the remarkable collection of "conjectures and presumptions" known as the Book of Articles, which was presented by Moray to the commissioners on December 6, 1568. Mr Hosack has printed the document from the original MS. in the Hopetoun Archives,[1] and has demonstrated the remarkable similarity of its

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i. Appendix B. "Articles contenying certaine conjectouris, presumptionis, likielihoodis, and circumstances, be the quhilkis it sall evidentlie appear that . . . the quene was of the foirknawledge, counsell, devise, persuader and commander of the [king's] murder."

statements to the notorious 'Detection' of Buchanan. The book contains five parts, which are simply an enlargement of the two main charges against Mary—namely, her complicity in Darnley's murder, and her guilty relations with Bothwell. The mention of two points will be sufficient to indicate the spirit that animates the whole document. According to the Book of Articles, Mary gave proof of the mortal hatred she bore towards her husband by excluding him in her will from all share in the government in case of her death, and also by bequeathing all her personal property away from him. But from an inventory of her jewels, discovered in 1854, and from the bequests annexed to the list, we know, on the contrary, that it was precisely to Darnley that the larger portion of the jewels were left.[1] And we learn from the narrative of Bishop Leslie, that the queen, in making this disposition, acted deliberately and conscientiously, after consultation with Bishop Leslie himself, and other friends of her own religion.[2] The account given in the Book of Articles of Mary's visit to Bothwell, when he

Its statements disproved.

[1] A lithographed facsimile of the inventory in question is given by Hosack (*Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 150). It is worth noticing that Mary's will contains no such provision in favour of Bothwell; but on the contrary, various rich jewels are bequeathed to his injured wife—a fact utterly inconsistent with the jealous hatred towards that lady with which the queen is credited by her calumniators.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Leslie, *Paralipomena* (Archiv. Vatic. Polit. Var., xvi. fol. 352). Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 113.

was lying wounded, after an encounter with an outlaw in Liddesdale, is no less inaccurate and exaggerated. The unbecoming haste[1] with which she is alleged to have acted on the occasion is in fact a pure invention. It was not until the close of the Jedburgh assize, a week after Bothwell had been injured, that the queen paid this act of courtesy to one of her most powerful and loyal subjects; and Moray himself accompanied her on the visit. Claude Nau, moreover, informs us that Moray and other lords were actually present during the interview between the queen and Bothwell.[2]

It is unnecessary to dwell further on this extraordinary document, which could only have been the work of a pen deeply dipped in gall and poison. Besides the Book of Articles, Moray also presented to the commissioners a copy of his Act of Parliament of December 1567, confirming the queen's abdication. He probably imagined that he had now attained his end, and that the commissioners would be convinced of his sister's guilt. But in this he was mistaken, for they naturally demanded some definite proof of the accusations.

The Casket letters produced.

It was then that Moray and his colleagues produced the famous casket of silver-gilt, adorned

[1] "She departed in haste . . . never taking kindly rest until she came to the Hermitage, in Liddesdale, and saw him."—*Book of Articles.*

[2] Stevenson, *Mary Stewart*, p. 239. "Pour. ceste occasion elle y alla en dilligence, accompagnée du comte de Murray et quelques autres seigneurs, en présence desquels elle communiqua quelques heures avec le dit Seigneur comte."

in various places with the letter F under a crown. It was said to have belonged to Mary's first husband, Francis, and afterwards to have been given by her to Bothwell, who left it in Edinburgh Castle. Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant, had obtained the casket, it was stated, from the commandant of the castle, in order to carry it to his master at Dunbar; but it had been taken from him by Morton, who now swore to these facts, and also to the identity of the documents produced with those formerly in the casket. They included the two pretended marriage-contracts between the queen and Bothwell, the record of Bothwell's trial and acquittal, and the sentences of divorce pronounced by the ecclesiastical courts between him and his former wife. "After this," goes on the journal, "the said earl and his colleagues offered to show certain proofs, not only of the queen's hate towards the king her husband, but also of inordinate love towards Bothwell." These proofs consisted of the two Glasgow letters, which now appeared written in French, not in Scotch as at York. The Scotch letters had been already, at the York conference, solemnly declared to be the original documents; and the French copies were now in like manner asserted to be written "with the queen's own hand," and therefore to be originals likewise.[1]

[1] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), 1568, vol. ii. No. 61. Minutes of the Proceedings, December 7, 1568.

Depositions of Bothwell's accomplices.

Besides the above documents, the depositions of Hay, Hepburn, Powrie, and Dalgleish (who had been executed as Bothwell's accomplices) were also laid before the commissioners; after which appeared an important witness, in the person of Thomas Crawford, a gentleman attached to the household of the Earl of Lennox. Crawford had been sent by Lennox, on January 21, 1567, to meet the queen, when she was approaching Glasgow to visit her sick husband, almost two years before his appearance as a witness against her. His deposition, consisting mainly of a relation of his interview with the queen, and of the conversations between the queen and Darnley, as reported to him by Darnley himself, bears so extraordinary a resemblance to the queen's own report of the same conversation in the second Glasgow letter, as to be practically identical with it.[1] There can be only two explanations of this: either Crawford's deposition was simply a copy of the contents of the letter in question, or else the writer of the letter appropriated Crawford's narrative almost word for word. The probability of the latter alternative is increased by the circumstance that in the summer of 1568, Lennox and John Wood (the Regent's secretary) wrote to Crawford desiring him "by all possible methods to search for more matters" against the queen,

Evidence of Thomas Crawford.

[1] Hosack (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 196, note) has printed the deposition of Crawford and the queen's alleged letter side by side.

especially with reference to what had occurred at Glasgow. If his deposition at Westminster was substantially true (as seems probable), the authenticity of the queen's Glasgow letter is finally disposed of, for it is practically impossible that they can be genuine and independent accounts of the same incident.

The case against the Queen of Scots, such as it was, was now complete: the protest of her commissioners, demanding that she should be heard in person, was at length permitted to be received; and it only remained to be seen what use Elizabeth and her wily minister would make of the evidence that was now in their possession. It was decided to submit the letters to six of the principal English nobles, some of whom—such as the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland—were Catholics, and favourably inclined to the Queen of Scots. They were accordingly summoned to Hampton Court, and at a meeting of the Privy Council, after having been sworn to secrecy, were permitted to inspect the incriminating documents. According to Cecil, they expressed themselves satisfied as to the authenticity of the letters, but there is reason to suppose that opinion was much divided as to Mary's guilt.[1]

The documents submitted to the English nobles.

[1] Northumberland and Westmoreland, at least, could hardly have taken up arms, as they afterwards did, to restore to liberty and place on the English throne a princess whom they believed guilty of the atrocious crimes alleged against her. Still less would Northumberland have ventured to propose her to the Spanish

Elizabeth and the Scotch commissioners.

Two days later, on December 16, the commissioners of the Queen of Scots were received in audience by Elizabeth, who informed them that the turn things had now taken rendered it more than ever impossible for her to admit their mistress to her presence. It was, however, perfectly open to her to submit her answer to the charges, either before a special commissioner, who would repair to Bolton Castle for the purpose, or through her appointed delegates to the Westminster conference.[1] If the Bishop of Ross had confined himself to claiming for his mistress the same right of being personally heard which Elizabeth (in spite of her promise to the contrary) had granted to Moray, his arguments would have been unassailable. But he imprudently went on to demand (after quoting the example of Trajan, who would never permit an absent prince to be calumniated before him) that Queen Mary should be permitted either to return to Scotland or to repair to France. Elizabeth evaded the request by rejoining that she could not think them good servants to her sister who sought to bring about an accommodation between her and her subjects, after they had accused her of such crimes.[2]

Imprudence of Bishop Leslie.

Meanwhile, Mary herself had no sooner received

ambassador as a consort for the King of Spain. See the Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon, already alluded to.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. ii. No. 74, December 16, 1568.

[2] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 268.

intelligence of what had taken place at Westminster, than she at once took vigorous measures to fling back the charges in the face of her accusers. In fresh instructions to her commissioners, dated December 19, 1568, we find these forcible words: "When the Earl of Moray and his complices have said 'that we knew, counselled, devised, or persuaded the murder of our husband,' they have falsely, traitorously, and *meschantly* lied, imputing unto us maliciously the crime whereof they themselves are authors, inventors, doers, and some of them proper executors." The queen goes on to refer to the accusations brought against her with regard to the trial and acquittal of Bothwell and her subsequent marriage with him, and to the conclusive reply which had been given to these charges at York, and had never been refuted. "And whereas," she adds, in quaint but touching allusion to the abominable insinuation that she had plotted the murder of her child, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our son, alleging that we intended to have caused him follow his father hastily; howbeit, the natural love a mother bears to her only bairn is sufficient to confound them, and requires no other answer."[1]

Energetic action of Queen Mary.

The uncompromising attitude of the Queen of Scots was by no means satisfactory to her adversaries. Moray felt himself no longer safe

Embarrassment of Moray and the English Court.

[1] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 288.

in London, and expressed his wish to return to Scotland; and Elizabeth herself could not shut her eyes to the undeniable moral strength of her rival's position. It was necessary to resort to fresh intrigues; and Mary was to be induced, if possible, to confirm her previous abdication of the crown, as the only means of securing her own safety and the future peaceable succession of her son to the English throne. Sir Francis Knollys was accordingly instructed, in a letter which he received from Elizabeth on December 22, to use every means to persuade his royal prisoner to agree to this course. But Mary, although deprived of all external support, undauntedly maintained her ground, and continued to denounce the charges made against her as the grossest of calumnies.[1] She informed her commissioners early in 1569 that she was prepared to bring against her rebellious subjects fresh evidence, which had been collected by Lord Boyd;[2] and she repeatedly enjoined them to insist in their demand for copies of the Casket letters, "to the effect that they may be answered particularly; that she [Elizabeth] and all the world may know they are not less sinshamefast and false liars."[3] On the 9th

Mary desired to confirm her abdication.

[1] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. ii., No. 82; Sir Francis Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, December 26, 1568.

[2] Lord Boyd, as we learn from a letter written by the queen to Huntly on January 5, had arrived at Bolton Castle on the 27th of December (Cott. MSS., Cal. c. fol. 280).—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tom. ii. p. 263.

of January she wrote in the following decisive terms to the Bishop of Ross, who had conveyed to her the proposals of the English queen:[1] "As to the demission of my crown, about which you have written to me, I pray you trouble me no more; for I am resolved and determined rather to die than to do it; and the last word I shall speak in my life will be that of a Queen of Scotland.[2] . . . For although it shall be demonstrated to the nobility that I have been desirous of making such abdication in favour of my son, who is not old enough to be able to govern—so far from that making them think me innocent of what is laid to my charge, they will interpret it quite to the contrary, and say that it is from fear of being publicly arraigned, and from a conviction of my own guilt and of having a bad case, that I prefer to pay rather than plead, and thereby save myself from condemnation." Cecil had already proposed, by way of compromise, that Mary should retain the royal title and govern the realm, through the

Her refusal to adopt this course.

[1] It has been supposed that Bishop Leslie himself consented, on this occasion, to promote the designs of Cecil, and added his arguments in favour of Mary's abdication to those of her false friends Knollys and Scroope. But there seems no proof that he was more than an intermediary between the two parties; and it is hard to believe that, with his known ability and tried fidelity, he should have counselled his mistress to take so fatal a step.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. iii. No. 7; Labanoff, *op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 274. "Quant à la démission de ma couronne, comme m'avés escripte, je vous prie de ne me plus empescher. Car je suis résolu et deliberé [*sic*] plustost mourir que de fair; et la dernière parole que je ferai en ma vie sera d'une Royne d'Escosse."

Regent, conjointly with her son. But the commissioners of the Queen of Scots resolutely refused to entertain any such ideas; and on the 9th of January, they finally declared that their mistress "would never consent to resign her crown in any way, nor upon any conditions which were or could be proposed, but was determined during her lifetime to retain the same."[1]

Close of the conference.

The 11th of January witnessed the closing scene in this long comedy, as it may not inaptly be termed.[2] The Privy Council met at Hampton Court, and the commissioners of both parties appeared before it. Cecil then announced that Moray, before his departure for Scotland, had desired to be confronted with the representatives of the Queen of Scots, and to know whether they would accuse him of the murder of Darnley. Bishop Leslie promptly replied that they were charged by their mistress so to do, and also to

[1] Goodall, ii. 304 (*apud* Hosack, vol. i. p. 472).

[2] The Westminster conference had been on the previous day formally closed by Cecil, who announced in the queen's name that there had been nothing sufficient produced or shown by Moray and his friends against their sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen her good sister. This significant declaration was coupled with another, stating that Elizabeth was equally convinced of the unimpaired honour and allegiance of Moray himself and of his adherents! Considering the nature of the charges, and the utter impossibility that both parties could be innocent, the reader will doubtless agree with Tytler (*History*, vol. iii. p. 304) that this sentence of Elizabeth is "perhaps the most absurd judicial opinion ever left on record."—TRANSLATOR.

prove her innocence of the crime, provided that they might receive copies of the documents which had been produced against her. To this final demand no reply was made. Moray boldly avowed his willingness to repair at once to Bolton Castle, and there be arraigned on the charge of murder; but he was met by the quiet rejoinder that he might spare himself that trouble, as the queen had already submitted the accusation in her own writing, and was fully prepared to abide by it. On the following day Moray and his adherents departed for Scotland.

Departure of Moray for Scotland.

One last attempt was made by Mary, through La Mothe Fénélon, the French ambassador, to obtain copies of the incriminating letters. Fénélon had an audience of Elizabeth on the 20th of January, and exerted all his eloquence on behalf of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth actually promised that the writings should be placed in the hands of the commissioners next day; but we find that ten days later, when the ambassador reminded her of her engagement, she rejoined by an angry complaint about a certain letter which Mary was supposed to have written to Scotland in the interval, charging her with partiality in regard to the conferences. The reply was, of course, the merest subterfuge, suggested in all probability by Cecil; but Mary was in consequence finally denied a privilege enjoyed even by the lowest criminals—that of being confronted

Efforts of the French ambassador on Mary's behalf.

with the proofs of her supposed guilt.[1] For the greater security of her person, and in order to guard against any possible attempts to liberate her on the part of her friends in Yorkshire, where Catholics were still numerous, it was determined to remove her from Bolton; and she was accordingly, in the depth of winter, transferred to Tutbury Castle, in Staffordshire, where she arrived on the 3d of February 1569.

Removal of the queen from Bolton to Tutbury.

With the closing of the conferences of York and Westminster, and the commencement of her lifelong captivity in a foreign land, Mary Queen of Scots disappears for ever from the scene of the events with which these pages are chiefly concerned. We return, then, once more to Scotland, to continue to trace there the story of the fallen Church and its adherents.

[1] Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 479; *Despatches* of Fénélon, vol. i. p. 162.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH FROM THE WESTMINSTER CONFERENCE TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1582.

Attitude of Moray towards the Catholics.

Moray had not long returned to Scotland before the weight of his hand began to make itself felt by the Catholics throughout the realm. His animosity towards the adherents of the ancient faith was, of course, fostered by the spirit that prevailed in the General Assembly, whose deliberations were principally directed towards the continuance of the crusade against idolatry. The Assembly of July 1568 had, among other matters, ordered Thomas Bassandine, a printer, to suppress a work he had just published, called 'The Fall of the Roman Kirk,'[1] and had also been pleased to reinstate in the ministry the pseudo-Bishop of Orkney, who was still under

[1] The author states in error that the Assembly approved the work in question. Much of its contents, doubtless, met with their approbation; but what they did was to order the printer to call it in, on account of the king being styled in it "Supreme Head of the Primitive Church,"—a title by no means consonant with the views of the Scotch Reformers.—Translator.

suspension for his share in the marriage of the queen and Bothwell. It had likewise petitioned the Regent for the reform of Aberdeen University, a matter which he accordingly took in hand in the June of the following year. The principal and several of the officials of King's College were required to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and also the Acts of Parliament of 1560 and 1567 concerning religion. They refused to do so, and were at once deprived of their offices. By way of asserting some show of authority on his own account, Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus and Mearns, issued a sentence to the same effect, "with the advice and consent of the ministers, elders, and commissioners present," thus investing the act of the civil power with a *quasi* ecclesiastical sanction. The names of those who suffered for their religion were Alexander Anderson, principal of the college; Andrew Galloway, sub-principal; and Andrew Anderson, Thomas Austen, and Duncan Norrie, regents. The Assembly of 1569 gave evidence of its anti-episcopal leanings by the censure which it passed on John Carsewell, for having accepted the bishopric of the Isles without permission of the Protestant leaders, and also for having attended the Parliament summoned immediately after the murder of Darnley.[1]

"Reform" of King's College, Aberdeen.

About this time the Regent afforded demon-

[1] *Book of the Universal Kirk*, pp. 111-117.

stration of his zeal against witches, by ordering a number of these unfortunate creatures to be burned in St Andrews and Dundee.[1] Moray as a witch-burner.

In the month of May of the same year, four priests belonging to Dunblane were apprehended for the crime of saying Mass, and were sentenced to be hanged at Stirling. The penalty of death was commuted by the Regent for a punishment not less painful and ignominious. The condemned, wearing their priestly vestments, and bearing in their hands chalice and missal, were chained to the market-cross, and exposed to the derision of the populace. After suffering every kind of indignity, their vestments, books, and chalices were burnt by the common hangman, and they themselves were banished from the kingdom.[2] Similar disgraceful scenes were witnessed in other parts of Scotland. We have already seen[3] that in Moray's second Parliament the Archbishop of St Shameful treatment of Dunblane priests.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 145. "In my lord Regentis passing to the north, he causit burne certane witches in Sanctandrois; and in his returning, he causit burne ane uther cumpanie of witches in Dundie." Adam Blackwood (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*) tells us that one of these wretches, on seeing the bag of powder placed beside the stake prepared for her, exclaimed (in prophetic allusion to the Regent's impending fate), "What need of a' this wastry o' powther? less than half an ounce shall be enough for my Lord of Moray."—Translator.

[2] *Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 66. They were "bund to the mercat-croce, with thair vestmentis and challices in derisioun, quhair the people caist eggis and uther villany at thair faces be the space of an hor, and thairefter thair vestmentis and challices were brunt to ashes."—Translator.

[3] *Ante*, p. 170.

Andrews, the Bishop of Ross, and other prominent Catholics, had been sentenced to forfeiture as traitors. It was only, in fact, by zealous measures against the Catholics that the Regent could hope to succeed in obtaining the confidence and support of the leaders of the Reformed party, outside of which he had very few adherents.

Defection of the Regent's supporters.

Even his former confederates, who had stood by him in a long succession of plots and deeds of darkness, were now gradually falling away from him, prominent among them being Maitland and Kirkaldy of Grange.[1] Moray was credited with entertaining a design to set the young king aside, and to place the crown on his own head. Early in 1570 a paper was published, satirising his supposed projects, and placing in the mouth of Knox a number of imaginary speeches in favour of them. The satire, which gives evidence not only of ability and culture, but also of an intimate acquaintance with party politics and the condition of the country, was ascribed to Thomas Maitland, brother to the secretary. Knox, who, as has been well remarked,[2] "was always exceedingly sensitive in regard to any remark on himself," vehemently attacked the author in the pulpit, and

[1] Maitland, writing to Mary on September 20, 1569 (*State Papers* (Mary Queen of Scots), vol. iv. No. 16), assures her that "if she can come to Scotland she will not have a man against her"—a sufficient proof of the growing unpopularity of the Regent.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 165.

prophesied that he would die in a strange land without a friend to support his head.[1]

Plan to recover the person of the Queen of Scots.

In order to counteract the designs of his enemies, Moray now conceived a bold and desperate plan. He entered into negotiations with Elizabeth for the surrender to him of his unfortunate sister, the Queen of Scots. The sinister assurance which he gave, that her life would not be shortened by any undue means, would seem to hint at some dark purpose in his mind. On the 2d of January 1570, his confidential agent, Nicolas Elphinstone, was despatched to the English Court, commissioned to promise that if Mary were given up, the Earl of Northumberland (who, after the unsuccessful rising of the northern counties, had fled to Scotland, and was there detained by the Regent) should be surrendered to Elizabeth.[2]

Letter from Knox to Cecil.

Knox on the same day addressed to Cecil the remarkable letter whose ominous allusions are generally supposed to point to the queen's death. "Benefits of God's hands received," he writes, "crave that men be thankful; and danger known would be avoided. *If ye strike not at the root, the branches that appear to be broken will bud again*, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we could wish.

[1] Curiously enough, Maitland died in Italy in the following year. —TRANSLATOR.

[2] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. xvi. No. 88, and vol. xvii. No. 2.

Turn your een [eyes] unto your God; forget yourself and yours, when consultation is to be had in matters of such weight as presently ly upon you. Albeit I have been fremedly [strangely] handled, yet was I never enemy to the quietness of England. God grant you wisdom. In haste, of Edinburgh, the second of Janur. Yours to command in God, JOHN KNOX, with his one foot in the grave." [1]

Bishop Leslie's protest.

Mary's faithful servant, Bishop Leslie, had no sooner discovered the design entertained by the Regent, than he hastened to present to the Queen of England a protest against the delivery of his mistress into Moray's power, declaring that to take such a step would be in fact equivalent to signing her death-warrant. He appealed at the same time for the co-operation of the ambassadors of France and Spain.[2] Meanwhile the proposal that Northumberland should be surrendered to Queen Elizabeth had met with very considerable opposition from the Scottish nobility. But in the midst of the negotiations occurred a terrible event, which put an end for ever to the perfidious intrigues of the Regent. As he rode through Linlithgow, on the 23d of January 1570, he fell by the bullet of an assassin. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who fired the fatal shot, was no doubt

Death of the Regent Moray.

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. xvii. No. 3. (Endorsed by Cecil's clerk, "Mr Knox to my Mr.")

[2] La Mothe Fénélon addressed a strong remonstrance to the queen-mother on the subject.—(*Despatches*, vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.)

animated chiefly by private revenge,[1] not, however, unmixed with motives of a political nature. He was a declared adherent of Mary's party, which had every reason to dread a successful issue to the negotiations then pending as to the surrender of the queen to Moray. Hamilton fled to the Low Countries, where he was afterwards in receipt of a pension from the Spanish Government.[2]

Character of Moray.

Thus perished this extraordinary man, who almost from the beginning of her life had dogged and persecuted his unfortunate sister like an evil spirit. While she was still in France he had begun to intrigue against her at the English Court; and had his dark plots prospered, Mary would never have set foot on the soil of her dominions, for on her voyage thither she would have been intercepted and conveyed to England. He had been a consenting party to the assassination of Rizzio, and deeply involved also, as we have seen, in the conspiracy against the unfor-

[1] He had been outlawed, and his estates forfeited, after the battle of Langside; and it was said that his wife, in pursuance of the sentence, had been barbarously turned out of house, at night, immediately after her confinement, and had lost her reason and perished in consequence.—(*Historie of James the Sext.*) —TRANSLATOR.

[2] Knox, *Records of the English Catholics*, vol. i. p. 300. (List of pensioners of the King of Spain.) "Both the Hamiltons, Scottismen, have at Bruxelles by moneth 30 cr[ouns] eache of them, wch travayled to murther the Erl of Murray, and brought their purpose to passe."—(Record Office. Elizabeth, vol. 105, No. 10.) [Bothwellhaugh returned to Scotland, and was pardoned by James VI., after the death of Morton.—TRANSLATOR.]

tunate Darnley. At the very moment when the violence of Bothwell was menacing his sister's destruction, he had quitted Scotland, only to return after her incarceration, in order to reap the harvest of his treachery. And yet this same man, who was not ashamed to receive payment from the Queen of England for the hideous charges he had brought against his sister,[1] had constantly enjoyed that sister's confidence, and had received rank, honours, and riches at her hands. His whole life seemed, as it were, to be under the influence of an evil spell. In the career of the bastard son of James the Fifth, and lay-prior of St Andrews, the irregular life of that monarch, and the abuses connected with ecclesiastical benefices, found their fitting punishment. Nor must it be forgotten that Moray, his own sister's mortal foe, whose one aim in life seemed to be her downfall and destruction, who left no means untried to blacken her name and fame for all succeeding time, was, with all this, the most zealous champion of the Reformed religion, and was, in fact, venerated by some of his fellow-Protestants almost as a saint.[2] But "if we seek for that love," as

[1] He had received, before his departure from London, five thousand pounds from the English Treasury. See Leslie's Negotiations, in Anderson, vol. iii. p. 40, and Moray's receipt for the money in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 677.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Archiv. Vatic., Nunt. di Franc.*, vol. xiv. p. 179. The internuncio Dandini writes from Paris (April 25, 1569) that the "gentilhuomo Scozzese," Fernihurst, had some days before received a Bible "nella quale trovò porto da gli heretici del suo paese *nel catalogo de*

Tytler has well remarked, "which is the only test of religious truth, how difficult it is to think that it could have a place in his heart, whose last transaction went to aggravate the imprisonment, if not to recommend the death, of a miserable princess, his own sister and his sovereign!" [1]

State of the country at Moray's death.

Scotland at the time of the Regent's death presented, in truth, a melancholy spectacle. The realm was torn between two contending factions, one professing allegiance to the captive queen, the other to her infant son.

Strength of the rival parties.

The adherents of Mary had indeed the preponderance in numbers and influence, including as they did the powerful names of the Duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons, the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Athole, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, Cassillis, Sutherland, and Eglinton, as well as Lords Hume, Seton, Ogilvy, Ross, Borthwick, Herries, and others.[2] Their oppon-

martiri il Bastardo di Scotia, che lui odiava grandemente." Fernihurst was afterwards instructed by Father Tyrie, the Jesuit, in the doctrines of the Catholic religion.

The reader will remember the opinion of Moray which Aytoun puts into the mouth of Bothwell:—

> "False to his sister, whom he swore
> To guard and shield from harm;
> The head of many a felon plot,
> But never once the arm. . . .
> A verier knave ne'er stepped the earth,
> Since this wide world began:
> And yet he bandies texts with Knox,
> And walks a pious man."
>
> —TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Hist. of Scotl.* vol. iii. p. 321.

[2] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. xvii. No. 50. Petitions of "divers lords and others" to Queen Elizabeth. There are twenty-eight signatures to the document.—TRANSLATOR.

ents, on the other hand, possessed a tower of strength in the Chancellor Morton, supported as he was by the influence of the English queen. The death of Moray naturally awoke new hopes in the adherents of Queen Mary; but these were quickly frustrated by the action of Elizabeth, by whose orders two armies advanced simultaneously into the Eastern and Western Lowlands, under Lords Sussex and Scroope, burning and devastating as they went. On July 12, 1570, the king's party formally elected Lennox as the new Regent. He had long been attached to the Reformed cause, and was therefore prepared to prosecute vigorously the Protestantising policy of his predecessor. Meanwhile Sussex was marching through Annandale and Dumfries, spreading havoc and desolation, and levelling to the ground the castles of every baron and laird who was known or suspected to favour the cause of the queen. The utter lawlessness that prevailed throughout the country, and the unscrupulous rapacity with which the Protestant barons grasped at the property of the despoiled Church, is shown by an incident that occurred in the August of this year. It will be remembered that on the death of the renowned Abbot Quentin Kennedy of Crossraguel, the queen had named Allan Stewart commendator of the monastery, which was further charged with a large annual payment to George Buchanan. The Earl of

Lennox elected Regent.

The "roasting of the abbot."

Cassillis, popularly known as the "King of Carrick," now stepped in and claimed the whole temporalities for himself. As Stewart refused to give up his rights, the earl seized him, confined him in his castle of Dunure, and roasted him over a fire until he consented to subscribe the deeds laid before him.[1] The unfortunate commendator lodged a complaint with the Privy Council, and Cassillis was forbidden further to molest either Stewart or Buchanan in their rights; but he does not appear to have made any satisfaction for his outrageous conduct.[2]

Capture of Dumbarton Castle by the Regent.

The important stronghold of Dumbarton, which was commanded by Lord Fleming, had up to the present remained in the possession of the queen's party. On the 2d of April 1571 it was taken by the Regent's forces. The governor of the castle saved his life by flight, but the garrison were

[1] *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel*, vol. ii. p. 6. "First, they fleiced the scheip—that is, they took off the Abbotis cleathis ewin to his skyn; and nixt they band him to the chimlay, his leggis to the one end and his armis to the uther; and so they began to bait the fyre. . . . And that the rost suld not burne, but that it mycht rost in soppe, they spared not flambing with oyle (Lord luik thou to sic creweltie!)" (From the *Memorialles* of Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox). The editor of the *Charters* considers Bannatyne's account untrustworthy, and shows, by two facsimiles, that the signature of the commendator before and after his "roasting" varies but little. However, the narrative is corroborated by Stewart's own statement to the Privy Council; and there is certainly no *a priori* impossibility or even unlikelihood in the story.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. ii. pp. 2 *et seq.* *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. ii. pp. 124-126.

forced to surrender. Among the prisoners there was one individual whom Lennox, like his predecessor, and indeed the leaders of the Reformed party generally, had long been on the look-out to capture, although he had hitherto eluded their vigilance. This was the Archbishop of St Andrews, head of the house of Hamilton, Lennox's chief opponent, and the leading representative of the Catholics of Scotland. Innocent or guilty, he was doomed to be the victim of the religious and political passions of the time. He was hurried to Stirling, and there subjected to a mockery of a trial. His request that time might be allowed him to prepare his defence was refused. It was equally in vain that he asked his accusers to bring forward evidence of his guilt; the only crime that could be proved against him, as he himself maintained, was his fidelity to the Catholic religion and to his lawful queen. Sentence of death was pronounced upon him, and he at once asked for the assistance of a confessor to prepare him for his end.[1] On April 5, 1571, he was hanged at Stirling, dressed in his pontifical vestments. Three days were thus deemed sufficient to begin and end a quasi-judicial process which in normal times could have issued only in a sentence of acquittal.[2]

Archbishop Hamilton made prisoner.

His execution.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 205: "And in the castell he desyrit ane papist priest to quham he mycht confes him."

[2] Under the gallows was found next morning a paper with the following distich:—

Character of the archbishop.

The character of John Hamilton, last Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland, was one not free from grave defects. His private life was irregular, and he allowed himself to be drawn far too deeply into the political movements of his turbulent age. The part which he took in dissolving the marriage of Bothwell and his wife, on the ground of their relationship, cannot, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, be pronounced otherwise than discreditable to the prelate who had himself granted the dispensation for their union which has since been brought to light. Nor have we up to now a particle of evi-

"Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, qui nobis talia poma feras."

[Two other lines, says the *Historie of King James the Sext* (p. 118), were added as "ane antidote to the first." They ran—

"Infelix pereas arbor, si forte virebis
Imprimis utinam carminis auctor eris."—TRANSLATOR.]

As to the archbishop's guilt, Hosack has well remarked (*Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 93), "It was enough and more than enough that he was a Hamilton." No record has been preserved of the proceedings against him (see Burton, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. v. p. 265). "He confessit," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 204), "that he knew not onlie the regentis murthour, and stopit it nocht (as he mucht have done gif he had pleised), but also that he furtherit the committing of the same." But there is no contemporary evidence whatever in corroboration of this statement.

Regarding the primate's alleged complicity in the murder of Darnley, it is sufficient to mention that the extraordinary story told by Buchanan (*Rerum Scotic. Histor.*, lib. xx. fol. 242) about the evidence given against him by a priest, is altogether irreconcilable with the narrative given by the same historian in his previously published *Detectio*, in which he imputes the crime to Queen Mary and Bothwell. Buchanan alone of contemporary writers brings this charge against the archbishop, and he contradicts himself hopelessly in making it.—TRANSLATOR.

dence to justify the conclusion that the dispensation in question was found to be invalid through any canonical flaw.[1]

But Archbishop Hamilton, with all his faults, was endowed with qualities which have deserved, and have gained for him, the approbation of the majority of his countrymen. The moderation of character which distinguished him has been deemed worthy of special praise. "He was a person," says Mackenzie,[2] "of great moderation, and much against violent measures. . . . It is evident that he was a wise, learned, and devout churchman; a loyal, active, and faithful subject; and the death that he suffered is an eternal reproach on the memories of those who had a hand in it; who, though they had no regard to his great age, yet ought to have shown some to the sacred character that he bore, if anything that is sacred had been esteemed by them."

Election of Robert Hay to the primatial see.

Shortly after the death of the primate, the few remaining members of the cathedral chapter of St Andrews assembled for the election of his successor. Their choice fell on a priest named Robert Hay, who continued for several years to superintend the affairs of the Church in Scotland. He appointed as his assistants the following seven priests: the Dean of Glasgow, the Provost of Methven, Mr William Blackwood of Dunblane,

[1] See, however, in reference to this point, *ante*, p. 128, note.

[2] *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. iii. pp. 107, 110.

Mr William Hay, parson of Turriff, Mr John Strachan, and Fathers Leyche and Beythe or White,—and conferred on them extraordinary faculties, by the authority of the Holy See.[1] Father Hay himself never received episcopal consecration; and the see of St Andrews remained unoccupied by a Catholic prelate for upwards of three hundred years.[2]

Death of the Regent Lennox.

The execution of Archbishop Hamilton was followed within a few months by the violent death of the Regent. On September 4, 1571, he received a mortal wound in a fray at Stirling between his own troops and a party of the queen's supporters led by Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton; and he expired a few hours later.

Election of Mar.

Next day the Earl of Mar was chosen Regent. Although an uncompromising opponent of Queen Mary, he succeeded in alienating his own party to such an extent that in a short time he had but few adherents left in the south of Scotland, while in the north Sir Adam Gordon, brother to Huntly, held possession of nearly the whole country. The regency of Mar was but a short one, but it was stained by acts repugnant to every feeling of honour and justice.

Proposed surrender and murder of the Queen of Scots.

Mar did not hesitate to lend himself to a scheme for the assassination of the unfortunate Queen of Scots.

[1] Blakhal's *Breiffe Narration*, Preface, p. xxvii.

[2] On March 4, 1878, the archiepiscopate of St Andrews was restored by the Holy See.

The plan originated at the English Court, and seems to have been known only to Elizabeth herself, to her ministers Burghley and Cecil, and to Henry Killigrew, the envoy despatched to Scotland to arrange for the carrying out of the plot. Elizabeth pledged herself to surrender her prisoner to the Regent, on the understanding that she was forthwith to be put to death.[1] As a fitting instrument to communicate the scheme to the Regent, Nicolas Elphinstone was chosen—the same whom Moray had sent to the English Court two years before on a somewhat similar mission. Mar and Morton both showed themselves favourable to the proposals of Elizabeth; but before the murderous arrangements could be concluded, a higher hand interposed and struck down the Regent as it had done his predecessor. Mar died at Stirling on October 28, 1572. His sovereign had bestowed on him rank and honours, and had intrusted to him the guardianship of her child;[2] and he had repaid her confidence with the

Death of Mar.

[1] Killigrew's original letters will be found in Hosack (*Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. App. C). According to Robertson (*Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 354), Elizabeth required that Mary should be "brought to public trial" in Scotland; but it is clear from the whole tenor of the instructions to Killigrew that the expression, "that she receave that she had deserved ther by ordere of justice," is not intended to bear that meaning. The summary execution, or rather assassination, of the Queen of Scots, was of the very essence of the scheme proposed. See Lingard (*Hist. of Engl.*), vol. vii. pp. 282-284; Strickland, *Queens of Scotl.*, vol. vii. p. 171; Burleigh's State Papers, in Murdin, p. 224.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] In the State Papers (*Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. No. 75) is pre-

basest treachery. He was at once a leader of the Reformed party in Scotland, and a pensioner of the English Crown. He had borne the infant prince to the battle-field to encourage the rebels against their lawful queen; he had carried him in his arms when the usurped crown was placed on his head; he had striven to turn his inborn love for his mother into scorn and hatred;[1] and, finally, he had done all in his power to bring his sovereign to a disgraceful death.

Baseness of his conduct.

Once again the lords assembled for the election of a Regent; and on November the 24th, the choice fell upon Morton. His term of office witnessed some important developments in the constitution of the Protestant Church. Morton himself was opposed to the democracy of the Kirk, and had already made efforts to secure the

Morton elected Regent.

His leanings towards Episcopalianism.

served a letter written by Queen Mary to Mar from Bolton, on December 17, 1568, in which she appeals most earnestly to his loyalty and sense of gratitude, and urges him to be a faithful guardian of her son, "her most precious jewel." See Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, tom. ii. pp. 254-256.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] One of the subjects of complaint made against Lennox by the queen, writing to Bishop Leslie on November 21, 1570, was that he allowed "filthy and dishonest words" to be applied to her in the hearing of the young prince—a proceeding which, she justly adds, "is so great a *meschantness* that it should be horrible to all persons whatsoever" (State Papers, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. v. No. 89). "The Queen of Scots," reports Fénélon, the French ambassador, writing on December the 18th, "is quite broken-hearted, by having been told of some bad words which the Prince of Scotland, her son, has spoken of her" (*Despatches*, vol. iii. p. 407). The reader will not fail to be reminded of the parallel outrage inflicted on the hapless Marie Antoinette of France.—TRANSLATOR.

restoration of the episcopal form of government. It was through his influence that John Douglas, Rector of St Andrews University, had in the previous year taken possession of the vacant primatial see,[1] and had sat in the Parliament at Stirling. Other bishoprics had been bestowed by Morton on various persons, without any previous consultation with the Assembly; and when that body had presented a petition to Parliament, in which they urged the duty of presenting to benefices only such as were worthy, Morton had spoken of the ministers in very contemptuous terms. Erskine of Dun thereupon addressed a long memorial to the Regent Mar, in which he insisted on the necessity of the complete spiritual independence of the Church. For the adjustment of differences, a series of conferences were held at Leith, during the winter of 1571-1572, between Morton and the superintendents and ministers, among the latter being included Winram, Craig, and several other once-Catholic ecclesiastics. As the result of the conferences, it was resolved to retain the episcopal constitution, the (so-called) consecration of the individuals selected for the bishoprics, and also the right of election hitherto vested in the cathedral chapters. These provisions, however, were little more than

Conferences at Leith, 1571-1572.

Bishoprics to be retained.

[1] Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, p. 39. Douglas was nominated to the archbishopric (by letters patent) under the Great Seal, dated November 30, 1570.—TRANSLATOR.

merely formal, and did not really interfere with the supremacy of the State in matters ecclesiastical. This point, in Morton's view, was all-important, and he no doubt deemed it sufficiently secured by the form of oath prescribed to the new prelates, in which the civil power is clearly acknowledged as the source of spiritual as well as of temporal jurisdiction.[1] On February 1, 1572, these resolutions were approved by the Regent, and steps were at once taken to carry them into effect. The Chapter of St Andrews met on the 6th of February, and elected John Douglas to the archbishopric; and he was formally "inaugurated" on the following Sunday.[2]

Appointment of John Douglas to St Andrews.

Two meetings of the General Assembly appear to have been held in the course of the year 1572. At the first, which took place at St Andrews on March the 6th, Winram, who was now advanced in years, resigned his office of Superintendent of Fife. Permission was at the same time granted to the archbishop to retain, together with his

The General Assembly.

[1] *Book of the Universall Kirke*, p. 130. See also Spottiswood, *History*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 172.

[2] The "consecration" ceremony was performed by three laymen, including the pseudo-bishop of Caithness. Knox preached on the occasion, but his secretary tells us that he highly disapproved of the proceedings. The Provost of St Salvador's publicly declared that Knox's indignation arose from his not having been himself nominated to the see; to which the Reformer rejoined from the pulpit "that he had refused a greater bishopric than ever St Andrews was" —in allusion doubtless to the offer of the see of Rochester, which had been made to him by Edward VI. (see vol. ii. p. 221)—Bannatyne, *Memorialles*, p. 256.—Translator.

new dignity, the provostry of St Mary's and the rectorship of the University—a concession which seems singular enough, as coming from men who so loudly proclaimed their mission to sweep away the abuses of the ancient Church, of which the system of pluralities had not been the least. Knox, not without reason, issued a vigorous protest against this proceeding. The Assembly again met on the 6th of August, when it was evident that widespread dissatisfaction was already felt with the ecclesiastical arrangements which had followed the Leith conferences. Objections were made in particular to the retention of some of the ancient titles, and it was resolved that archbishops should not be recognised in future, but only bishops. Exception was also taken to such appellations as chapter, dean, archdeacon, and chancellor; and it was proposed to substitute for dean and chapter the terms "moderator" and "bishops' assembly," and generally to reconsider the whole question of ecclesiastical titles. Apart from this matter, the Protestant ministers were not inclined to view the Regent's administration with very friendly feelings. Morton not only displayed no ill-will towards the Catholic clergy, but even showed himself well-disposed towards them, and praised their virtues. Of the ministers, on the other hand, he spoke in terms of undisguised contempt, and he gave his hearty approval to the proposal

Question of ecclesiastical titles.

Morton's friendliness towards the Catholics.

that four of the old parish churches should be assigned to each of them, on the ground that such an arrangement would tend considerably to diminish their numbers.[1]

[1] *Codex Barberin.*, xxxii. Report by Jesuits in Scotland to Clement VIII.; superscribed—"Quo tempore Scotia christianam religionem susceperit, ac quibus gradibus in hæresim sit dilapsa, deque præsenti illius statu in iis quæ ad religionem spectant brevissima narratio." Fol. 227. "Religion, in the meantime, remained much in the same condition as heretofore. On the side of the Reformers the Earl of Morton still survived, who steadily refused the title of Regent, although everything was done according to his direction. At last, however, he was declared Regent by his party. He was a man of prudence, and exceedingly anxious that everything should be done for the public good of his kingdom. He did not persecute the Catholics; and if any of them came into the realm, not only did he permit them to remain there unmolested, but even showed them a certain amount of favour. As for the ministers of his own religion, he treated them as men of no character or consideration. He was in the habit of continually repeating that there was no room for comparing the most wealthy of the ministers with the poorest among the priests whom he had ever seen; that in the priests there was more fidelity, more politeness, more gravity, and more hospitality, than in the whole herd of the others; and this he illustrated by a cunning piece of generalship. In Scotland the parish churches are near each other. Application had been made to the Earl of Morton, while he was Regent, that four parish churches should be assigned to each minister, an arrangement to which he gave a hearty approval, for he was anxious that these useless beings should be reduced to the fewest number possible. They, on their side, demanded the stipends of four churches, to which claim of theirs he answered that to him it seemed to be unjust; and by this indirect mode of procedure he escaped from the attempt made by the ministers for the increase of their salaries. During the time of Morton's regency nothing was done to excite a sharper persecution of the Catholics; but rather, on the other hand, their cause was strengthened by means of the books which were written and published on their side by the Scots, who at that time resided in Paris. Many noblemen, who had come into France, as well for intellectual society as to escape from civil discords

Towards the end of the year 1572 the Reformed party sustained a severe blow in the death of the man who from the beginning had been most closely identified with its fortunes. The health of John Knox had been on the decline since the October of 1570, when he had had an apoplectic seizure, which had greatly weakened his preaching powers. The last year of his life was embittered by a contention with his former friend and colleague, Kirkaldy of Grange, now governor of Edinburgh Castle. The Reformer publicly stigmatised Kirkaldy with the epithets of murderer and cut-throat, and was denounced by him in return as a shedder of innocent blood.[1] Such a point did the altercation reach, that it was said that Kirkaldy even threatened to put his opponent to death, and might have carried out his menace but for the intervention of Knox's friends.[2] The political events which during the course of 1571 rendered Edinburgh a far from secure place of residence, and in particular his relations with the governor of the Castle (now a staunch adherent of the queen's party), decided Knox, in May of that year, to quit the capital, and take up his residence in St Andrews. But he found in the university city a very different audience from the mobs which

Last days of John Knox.

Knox and Kirkaldy.

Knox at St Andrews.

at home, through their intercourse with Catholics bid farewell to the heresy of Calvin."—Translated from the Barberini MS. by Father Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, pp. 133, 134).

[1] Bannatyne, *Memorialles*, p. 72.

[2] See Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 286, 287.

had applauded him in Edinburgh. The rough and ready style of the Reformer's eloquence met but small acceptance among the classical scholars of St Andrews, which was, moreover, the headquarters of many open or secret adherents of the old religion. Among these may be mentioned Archibald Hamilton, who afterwards reverted to Catholicism, and gained some fame through his controversial writings against the Protestants. During his residence at St Andrews, Knox published a treatise in reply to Father James Tayre (or Tyrie), a Scotch Jesuit then living in France. Father Tyrie's brother had embraced Protestantism, and he had addressed to him in consequence a tractate on the subject of the new doctrines. The effect of his arguments was not only to bring back his brother to the Church, but also to elicit a rejoinder from the arch-Reformer himself, in which Knox does his best to weaken the reasoning of his opponent.[1] The treatise, on the whole, is marked by moderation, but towards the conclusion the writer cannot deny himself the satisfaction of characterising the Catholic religion as "altogether corrupt," and the "very way of perdition, having no sure ground within the work of God."[2] A reply was published by Father Tyrie at Paris, in 1573.

His controversy with Father Tayre, S.J.

[1] Knox, *Works* (ed. Laing, vol. vi., Part II., pp. 479-520), *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie.* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 511.

Knox and Queen Mary.

The Reformer's antipathy to the Queen of Scots does not seem to have diminished as his bodily strength grew weaker. He continued to the last to attack her from the pulpit; he refused to pray for her;[1] and he was, as we know, in communication with Killigrew, the envoy sent from England to arrange for the surrender and murder of the unfortunate queen.[2] Meanwhile the terrible news of the Massacre of St Bartholomew at Paris spread horror and consternation among the Scottish Protestants. A convention of the party was summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on October 20, 1572, in order to discuss the situation. On the appointed day, however, probably on account of the illness of the Regent Mar, none of the nobility appeared; and the assembly consisted only of the ministers, who recommended a seven days' fast, commencing on the 23d of November, and the formation of a league with England, and other Protestant powers, for the maintenance of the true religion. But when November came the life of Knox was already ebbing away, and on the 24th

[1] Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 281. "I pray not for her," were Knox's words: "I answer I am not bound to pray for her in this place, for sovereign to me she is not." The same motive might have induced him to refrain from publicly denouncing her supposed crimes.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Killigrew had an interview with Knox immediately after his arrival in Scotland; and on October 6th he wrote to Burghley—"I trust to satisfye Morton; and for John Knox, *that thing you may see by my dispache to Mr Secretary is don.*" Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii., App. C., p. 566.—TRANSLATOR.

of the month he expired, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His last days were spent chiefly in devotional exercises, interspersed, however, with denunciations of his enemies. Bannatyne, his friend and secretary, and author of the memorials of his life, assisted him in his last moments. Knox was buried in the churchyard of St Giles. Morton, who had been chosen Regent on the very day of his death, was present at his funeral, and pronounced over his grave the well-known words (more epigrammatic, perhaps, than truthful[1])—"Here lieth one who in his life never feared the face of man."

Death of Knox, Nov. 24, 1572.

The death of Knox deprived the Protestant party of one who has ever been regarded, and with justice, as the father of the Reformation in Scotland. We have seen the part he took, from the beginning of his public life, in all the political movements of the time, as well as in the congenial task of demolishing the ancient Church and establishing the new religion. "On many occasions," observes one of his most friendly critics,[2] "he acted upon the principle (so manifestly erroneous and anti-Christian) that the end justifies the means. . . . He was often fierce, unrelenting, and unscrupulous." "It is horrid," remarks Hume,[3] "to consider the joy, alacrity, and pleasure which

Knox and the Reformation.

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 227, 228, and note on p. 228.

[2] Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 255. Walsh, *Hist. of the Cath. Church*, p. 385.

[3] *Hist. of Engl.* (ed. 1770), vol. iv. p. 331, note; vol. v. pp. 27, 52.

Knox displays in his narrative of this assassination [of Cardinal Beaton]. . . He had imbibed the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. . . . The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry." In truth, the Reformer's connection with Beaton's assassins, and with the subsequent murder of Rizzio; his incessant thirst for the death of idolaters, to wit, the Catholic clergy; his more than suspicious letter to Cecil, urging that the tree should be struck at the root; and his communications with the envoy who was charged to procure the betrayal and murder of his sovereign,—all these circumstances cannot but throw a sanguinary hue over his character. "He loved power so inordinately," writes Mr Buckle,[1] "that, unable to brook the slightest opposition, he trampled on all who crossed his path, or stood even for a moment in the way of his ulterior designs. . . . The influence of Knox in promoting the Reformation in Scotland has been grossly exaggerated by historians. . . . His first effort [the sanction he gave to Beaton's murder] was a complete failure, and, more than any one of his actions, has injured his reputation." The specimens of the Reformer's prayers, as reported by Mackenzie,[2] throw the

His bloodthirsty character.

[1] *History of Civilisation*, vol. ii. p. 224. Walsh, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. iii. pp. 135, 136.

imprecatory psalms of David far into the shade. His command of strong language was certainly remarkable, but beyond this he possessed but slight merits either as historian or theologian. His *History of the Reformation* cannot be considered trustworthy, and the wholesale vituperation which disfigures it has been condemned even by his admirers. Knox did not, like the father of the Reformation in Germany, originate a theological system of his own. He professed to follow closely in the footsteps of Calvin; but he nevertheless, shortly before his death, abandoned the democratic principle of Church government which was an essential feature of the system of Geneva, and gave his sanction to the introduction of Episcopalianism, as proposed at the Leith conferences. The consistency of character, in fact, which was so marked a feature in Andrew Melvill, was to a great extent wanting in Knox.[1]

Knox as historian and theologian.

The circumstance that the Reformer died poor has been favourably dwelt on by his biographers; but Mr Hosack has well remarked[2] that, before claiming for him the virtue of disinterestedness, his admirers ought to show that he ever had the opportunity of acquiring riches. We know, in

His love of poverty.

[1] Burton (*Hist. of Scotland*), vol. v. p. 319, note, refers, among other evidences of Knox's inconsistency, to the sense of incongruity with which we see his subscription under that of "J. Sanct Androis" (the Protestant occupant of the see) in a minute approving a sermon preached before the Regent.

[2] *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 163.

fact, that although Knox denounced the rapacity of the nobles in his most vigorous style, he never succeeded, notwithstanding repeated efforts, in procuring the assignation of the Church lands to the Protestant preachers. It is, however, not improbable that he profited by the wealth of his father-in-law, Lord Ochiltree, who had obtained his full share of ecclesiastical plunder, and whose youthful daughter, it will be remembered, Knox had married when over sixty years of age.

Severities against Catholics.

The forbearance shown by Morton towards the Catholics was not of long duration, and we find them before long groaning under his iron rule. In the year 1573, a priest named Thomas Robison, formerly master of the school at Paisley, suffered death for the crime of saying Mass;[1] and on May 4, 1574, another ecclesiastic, whose name, unfortunately, is not recorded, was hanged in Glasgow for the same offence.[2] The old Statistical Account of Scotland relates that the parish priest of Kirk-

[1] Buchanan, *Rer. Scotic. Hist.*, fol. 242. "Cum sacerdos, jam tertio inter missificandum deprehensus, ad supplicium ex legis præscripto duceretur." Buchanan's monstrous story (see *ante*, p. 215, note) of this priest repeating his former sacrilegious violation of the seal of confession, when on the point of suffering death for the faith, of course refutes itself. It was no doubt invented by the historian in order to make out a case, by fair means or foul, against the hated Archbishop Hamilton.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 341. "Upoun the fourt day of May [1574] there was ane priest hangit in Glasgow callit —— for saying of Mes." Supposing Buchanan's dates to be inaccurate (which is not improbable), this entry may refer to Father Robison also.—TRANSLATOR.

michael, in Banffshire, who in the year 1575 refused to marry an uncle to his niece, was seized, bound to a stone, and burned to death.[1] In the same year a Scotchman of noble birth named David Douglas was beheaded at York for professing the Catholic religion.[2]

Privy Council decrees against Catholic ecclesiastics.

The register of the Privy Council contains a decree, dated February 12, 1574, and forbidding, under pain of death, any dealings with certain ecclesiastics and others, who are declared to be rebels and outlaws. The list includes the names of James, Archbishop of Glasgow; John, Bishop of Ross; William, Bishop of Dunblane; David Chalmer, Provost of Crichton; John Hamilton, parson of Dunbar; James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh; John Hamilton, Provost of Bothwell; Edmund Hay, "Provost of the Jesuits;" James Tyrie, Jesuit; William Murdo, Jesuit; Adam Blackwood; Robert Abercromby, Jesuit; Sir Ninian Minzet [Winzet], friar; and others.[3] Parson Hamilton is probably the same who in 1571 had been apprehended, imprisoned, and afterwards banished for saying Mass. William Barclay and John Abercromby, priests, were

[1] Sinclair, *Statistical Account* (Edinburgh, 1794), vol. xiii. p. 442.

[2] The Menology of Camerarius (Paris, 1631) commemorates him on the 8th of August. "Cœlestia petiit David Douglasius, nobilissimo ortu, qui cum in Anglia Eboraci deprehenderetur, capite amputato cœlestium cœtus meruit anno 1575." Dempster gives the date as December 23d (Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 222). —Translator.

[3] *Regist. Priv. Counc. Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

banished about the same time for the same offence; and a priest named John Gordon was thrown into prison. On the 20th of December 1576, the Privy Council revoked the licence which had been granted to William Henderson (sometime Prior of the Blackfriars at Stirling), to go abroad on his private affairs, on the ground that he had "practised sundry things directly repugnant to the true religion of Jesus Christ, as in hearing and saying of Mass and using of other papistical ceremonies and orders."[1] Among those who about this time returned to the Catholic faith was Archibald Hamilton, a distinguished member of the University of St Andrews.[2] The treatise of Father Tyrie, already mentioned, made a great impression on many Protestants, and was the means of bringing back a large number of them to the old religion.

[1] *Regist. Priv. Counc. Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 575.

[2] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nuntiat. di Francia*, 1581). The nuncio at Paris thus recommends Hamilton to the Pope. "Archibaldum Hamilton, Scotum presbyterum, S. Sanctitati commendare, qui inter hæreticos in Scotia enutritus, ad fidem catholicam rediit et editis libris Calvinianam hæresim confutavit (fol. 460). Numerus eorum, qui ad hanc viam ingrediendam parati propter rerum inopiam loco se movere non possunt, est hic, plerique fere omnes Parisiis et in circumvicinis locis degunt: Pr. Huntonus Doctor theologus, Pr. Grayus publicus prof. theologiæ, Pr. Chalmerus concionator theologus, Pr. Johannes Hayus Doctor theolog., Pr. Jacobus Langius doctor Sorbonicus, Pr. Andreas Gallway in theologia licentiatus, Pr. Jacobus Schineus in utroque jure doctor, Pr. Jacobus Morton theologus, Pr. Gulielmus Maldum, Pr. Patritius Dunglas Cancus, P. Jacobus Jonlasoen, theologiæ candidatus, Pr. Gulielmus Viddigon."

Prevailing spirit of intolerance.

The proceedings both of the General Assembly and of the national Parliament at this period were distinguished, as might have been expected, by a very intolerant spirit; and we find proposals continually being brought forward for the more complete suppression of the Catholic religion, and the punishment of ecclesiastics for exercising their sacred functions. Such rigorous measures, however, did not appear to have the effect of greatly advancing the new gospel; for the records of the Privy Council contain from time to time bitter complaints of the spiritual destitution of the country, and the consequent decay of religion and morals.[1]

Penal enactments by successive Parliaments.

The Parliament summoned by Moray in December 1567 had, as we have seen, renewed the penal edicts of 1560 against the saying of Mass, or assisting at its celebration.[2] Lennox's Parliament, held at Stirling in 1571, ordered the removal of the "monuments of idolatry" from the Chapel Royal in that town[3]—the same in which James VI. had been solemnly baptised, according to the Catholic rite, by Archbishop Hamilton, five years before. Among the enactments of the

[1] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. ii. p. 351. "Yit ar a greit nowmer of kirkis destitute of all maner of ministratioun of the Word of God and sacramentis, to the greit hurt and prejudice of the people of God."

[2] *Acts of Parliam.*, vol. iii. p. 22. Anent the Messe abolischit, and punisching of all that heiris or sayis the same. See *ante*, p. 156.

[3] *Acts of Parliam.*, vol. iii. p. 62.

Parliament of 1572 was one commanding the apprehension of all persons who were found to have in their possession papal bulls or dispensations, either antedated or blank, or "gifts and provisions of benefices."[1] This statute was intended to supplement the provisions of the Act of 1560, which had deprived the Catholic prelates of the power of granting leases of ecclesiastical property. The records of the Privy Council of this year, as well as of the proceedings of the General Assembly, inveigh in the most violent terms against the Council of Trent. In a petition presented to the Council in the month of October, the "barons, gentlemen, and others, professors of Christ's evangel," express their apprehensions, "in respect of the great murders and more than beastly cruelties used and put in execution in divers parts of Europe against the true Christians within the same, proceeded no doubt out of that unhappy, devilish, and terrible Council of Trent, and intended not only to be executed in foreign countries where either their power or treason may avail, but also to be prosecuted and followed forth with the like or greater cruelty, if it were possible, against the true Christians here in this realm of Scotland."[2] It was enacted by the General Assembly of 1572 that all Papists should appear before the presbyteries and render an account of

[1] *Acts of Parliam.*, vol. iii. p. *75.

[2] *Acts and Proceedings of the Gen. Assemblies*, Part I. p. 250.

their belief.[1] In the following year the Assembly went a step further. It charged the superintendents and commissaries, within their respective jurisdictions, "to proceed summarily to excommunication against all Papists," and to order them, on pain of citation before the legal tribunals, within eight days "to join themselves to the religion presently established in this realm."[2] On May 6, 1573, Lord Sempill was charged before the Privy Council with the crime of presenting a Catholic priest to the vicarage of Eastwood.[3] A complaint was lodged against Peter Watson in the Assembly of 1579, for his remissness in not instituting proceedings against Gilbert Broun, Abbot of New Abbey, and Ninian Dalziel, who "enticed the people to Papistry" in the neighbourhood of Dumfries.[4] On the other hand, we find Hendrie Keir, a servant of the Earl of Lennox, appearing before the Assembly in 1580, and declaring that albeit he had long remained in blindness and Papistry, it had pleased God to illuminate him and call him to the knowledge of the true Word.[5] The authorities of the Kirk were especially desirous of preventing the arrival of Catholics from foreign countries. Complaint

[1] *Acts and Proceedings of the Gen. Assemblies*, Part I. p. 253.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[3] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. ii. p. 229. "Robert Lord Sympill . . . intrusit Sir Johnne Hammiltoun, a Papist priest, in the said vicarage."

[4] *Acts and Proceedings*, Part II. p. 429. See *post*, chap. vii.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 457.

was made in 1582 that "from time to time there arrive sundry professing plain Papistry, by means of the masters and owners of ships receiving them in their vessels, and transporting them unknown to Magistrate or Kirk;" and various regulations were made by the Assembly with a view to checking such proceedings in future.[1]

Action of the kirk-sessions.

The action of the local Church courts was naturally based upon the policy laid down in the successive sessions of the General Assembly. The proceedings of the kirk-session of Aberdeen, which have been preserved to us in their integrity, are of considerable interest in this connection. The zeal of the members of this body appears to have been specially directed to prevent the continuance of any of the outward observances of the ancient Church.[2] In Scotland, as in Germany, the people long clung with constancy and persistence to the venerable customs and festivals which in Catholic times had varied and beautified their daily lives, and had taken the place of those pleasures and amusements which the wealthier classes of society are able to procure for themselves. The editor of the Records of the Kirk-session of Aberdeen makes

[1] *Acts and Proceedings*, Part II. p. 550.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-session, &c., of Aberdeen*, Preface, p. xxv. "Many of these decrees refer to customs and superstitions which appear to have withstood for many years the assaults directed against them, and to have remained in occasional use by the people after the ancient faith had been pretty generally relinquished by them."

special mention of the frequency, even after the Reformation, of pilgrimages to holy wells and other sacred spots, and of the necessity of the frequent interposition of Parliament, as well as of the Presbyterian Church courts, in order to put a stop to them.[1]

Measures enjoined by the Privy Council.

On the 18th of August 1574 a meeting of the Privy Council, under Morton, was held at Aberdeen, and the provost and bailies were summoned to appear before it. Strict injunctions were laid upon them to see that the old feast-days were abolished, and those who still kept them punished; that no one retained in his possession sacred pictures or other "monuments of idolatry;" and that organs, stalls, and "backs of altars" were forthwith removed from the churches.[2] It was required of all Papists cited before the tribunals to renounce their religion, to subscribe the Presbyterian form of belief, and to receive the Protestant communion. On February 10, 1573, James Hamilton of Kincavill is recorded to have "given the confession of his faith, and promised to continue in profession of the true religion in time

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-session, &c., of Aberdeen*, p. xxvi.

[2] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. ii. p. 390. "That they suld inhibite and expressly punishe the superstitious keping of festuall dayis usit of befoir in tyme of ignorance and Papistrie, and all playis and feisting at thay tymes. . . . That the persounis knawin and suspectit to haif and keip ymagerie or utheris monumentis of ydolatrie be chargeit to present the same. . . . That the organis be removed out of the kirk."

Penalties for non-conformity.

coming."[1] Those who refused to conform incurred excommunication. In many cases we find that they did so refuse. Thus the records of the Aberdeen kirk-session mention that Joanna Maitland, in the year 1574, refused to abjure Popery, "but remained still stubborn as she was before."[2] In other instances the abjuration seems to have been insincere, and to have been afterwards recanted.[3] It was only aided by the pressure of the penal laws that the Reformation was able to gain ground. The kirk-session of Perth, in November 1578, summoned Mr John Denite before them as a suspected Papist.[4] Eighteen months later the "mass-priest," Sir Stephen Wilson, was brought before the Privy Council, charged with "continual disobedience in his wicked and damnable abusing of the sacraments, saying of mass, and making and dissolving marriages at his pleasure."[5]

Scottish Catholics abroad.

A large number of distinguished Scottish Catholics were at this time living on the Continent, and

[1] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. ii. p. 186. Bond of James Hammiltoun of Kincavill.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-session, &c., of Aberdeen*, p. 17.

[3] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. iii. p. 190. "Henrie Houstoun in Paisley having twyis subscrivit and oppinlie profest the trew religioun ressavit and confermed be our soverane lord, . . . maist weikitlie and maliciouslie maid defectioun."

[4] *Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 235. Mr Scott, the transcriber of the extracts from the kirk-session register, supposes, from the prefix of the title *Mr*, that Denite was a Catholic priest.—TRANSLATOR.

[5] *Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. iii. p. 273.

were engaged there in active efforts for the preservation of the ancient faith in their native country. Paris had been since 1560 the residence both of Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow (who had carried thither for safety most of the treasures and records belonging to his cathedral), and of the celebrated historian and statesman, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. The correspondence of these two prelates with Pope Gregory XIII. and his Secretary of State, gives us a lively and pleasing impression of the zeal for religion and devotion to the Holy See with which both were animated. The question of the possible restoration of the Scottish Church was a frequent subject of their letters to the illustrious Pontiff, whose epitaph in St Peter's describes him as the propagator of religion in both hemispheres, and who very shortly after his accession had addressed to the imprisoned Queen of Scots a letter filled with noble and consoling sentiments.[1] In a letter to the new Pope, dated February 22, 1573, Archbishop Beaton declares that he will make every effort to save from the shipwreck whatever is still left to be saved.[2]

Efforts of Bishop Leslie in the Catholic cause.

Bishop Leslie of Ross, who was at this time engaged in assisting the French prelates—in par-

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. i. pp. 63, 64. "Laudamus in primis constantiam tuam in catholica fide retinenda, summamque voluntatem in ipsius ecclesiæ sinu moriendi. . . . Sed cave, ne unquam animo frangaris aut te a Deo destitutam putes; quin potius sic cogita, te in ista custodia, ab ejus bonitate et clementia maxime custodiri."

[2] *Ibid.*, tom. i. p. 186.

ticular the Archbishop of Rouen—in the exercise of their episcopal functions, wrote to Pope Gregory on February 24, 1574, describing what he had undergone in the Tower of London, where, in spite of his position as accredited envoy from another sovereign, Elizabeth had, contrary to all international right, confined him. Often, he says, he had immediate death before his eyes. The English authorities spared no artifices, promises, or threats, in order to induce him to renounce his religion; but country, wealth, and honour weighed as nothing in the scale compared with fidelity to that Church which he served now in poverty and in exile.[1] The bishop begs the Pope to permit him to apply to all the princes of Christendom for the purpose of procuring the restoration of his sovereign to the enjoyment of her rights. Charles IX., King of France, to whom Gregory recommended the bishop, unfortunately died very shortly afterwards; but his successor, Henry III., bestowed a benefice upon Leslie, and supported many of the fugitive Catholics from England and Scotland. On July 3, 1575, the bishop wrote

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. i. p. 307. "Sæpius præsentem mortem præ oculis habui. . . . Dum in illo Londiniensium vero gurgustio detinerer, nullis non artificiis, minis et pollicitationibus me in eorum partes Angliæ proceres conati sunt protrahere, in integrum restitutione bonorum et divitiarum mihi oblata. At ego divina gratia me juvante elegi potius patrimonio, Episcopatu, reliquisque bonis ecclesiasticis orbatus, vitam in exilio summa egestate inter viros bonos et pios agere, quam ullis sæculi lenociniis vel terroribus a Sanctissimæ Sedis unitate divelli."

to the Pope from Paris expressing his gratitude for the beneficial result of his recommendation.[1]

Letter from John Irving to the Pope.

An interesting glimpse of the condition of Scottish Catholics at this time is given us by the letter sent to Pope Gregory on February 15, 1574, by John Irving, a Knight of Malta, from his prison in Edinburgh. Irving, who attributes his present situation to the action of informers, affirms his adherence to the Catholic faith, for which he is ready by God's grace to endure every extremity. He mentions, as one of the most faithful of the Scottish nobles, Lord Seton, who had made great sacrifices in the cause of religion, and who, together with his three sons, had been excommunicated by the Established Church. The writer adds that Lord Seton has under consideration various plans for the restoration of the Catholic faith in Scotland, which he doubts not will meet with the approbation of his Holiness.[2]

Negotiations on behalf of Queen Mary.

The prolonged detention of Queen Mary in England was the occasion of many communications between English and Scottish Catholics and the Spanish Court, with a view to her release. These negotiations were warmly seconded by the indefatigable Bishop Leslie, of whose zeal the Pope, in a letter to the King of France, dated August 11, 1576, spoke in high commendation. Gregory

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. ii. pp. 133, 134.
[2] *Ibid.*, tom. i. pp. 309, 310.

himself wrote to encourage the queen on August 18, 1577. "The Bishop of Ross has communicated to us your letters to him, in particular that one addressed to him in May last, which is filled with sentiments of piety towards God, and of reverence for our person and for this Holy See. We return unending thanks to God, who, in your long and undeserved captivity and misfortunes, strengthens and consoles you, and makes that light and easy to you which would be unendurable to such as are not established in the grace of God." [1]

Morton's fall from power.

In the course of the year 1578 a change took place in the government of the country. The Regent Morton found himself compelled to resign his office; and in his place a council of twelve nobles was appointed, the most influential among them being the Earls of Athole and Argyle. Morton's fall was no doubt due in great measure to the unyielding attitude adopted by the Reformed ministers. He had shown himself, as we have seen, strongly in favour of retaining the episcopal form of government in the Established Church—a scheme which met with more and more opposition as time went on. The authorities of the General Assembly claimed the right of examining the candidates presented to bishoprics by the Government; but to this the latter, supported by Morton, had, in some cases, refused to submit. Among those who had done so was Patrick Adamson, who

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. ii. pp. 337, 338.

had been nominated by the Regent to the see of St Andrews.

Andrew Melvill and the Episcopalian system.

The leader of the opposition to the movement in favour of Episcopalianism was Andrew Melvill, Principal of the College of Glasgow. Born at Baldovy, near Montrose, in 1545, he had received his education at St Andrews and Paris, and had afterwards gone to Geneva, where, on the recommendation of Beza, he was appointed professor of humanities. In the year 1574 he left Geneva, and after holding a public disputation in Paris with the Jesuit Tyrie, returned to Scotland, and was shortly afterwards appointed Principal of Glasgow College. In his repeated attacks on the episcopal system, he was supported by his friend and patron Beza, whose treatise, "De triplici Episcopatu," was of considerable service to the opponents of the bishops.[1] At the Assembly of 1578 Melvill was chosen moderator; and it was enacted that the bishops should henceforth be called simply by their own names, or styled "brethren"; and further, that the chapters should make no elections to bishoprics before the next Assembly. At subsequent meetings the bishops were required

[1] Beza's treatise was written in reply to six questions on ecclesiastical polity put to him by Lord Glammis, Chancellor of Scotland. It was afterwards translated into English under the title of "The Judgment of a most reverend and learned man from beyond the seas, concerning a threefold Order of Bishops, with a Declaration of certain other weighty points concerning the Discipline and Government of the Church."—TRANSLATOR.

Condemnation of Episcopalianism by the Assembly.

to make formal submission to the Assembly; and finally, at a meeting held at Dundee in July 1580, the episcopal system was condemned, and ordered to be abolished.[1]

The Second Book of Discipline.

The most important act associated with Melvill's moderatorship was the publication and formal sanction of the Second Book of Discipline, which was divided into thirteen chapters, and practically gave a new constitution to the Established Church. The portion of it dealing with Church government shows a very marked difference from the teaching of the First Book, issued under the influence of Knox. While the latter recognised the people as the chief source of ecclesiastical authority, and gave to them an almost unlimited power of exercising it, the new discipline aimed at instituting a number of Church courts, to which the powers hitherto vested in the people were now to be transferred. The ecclesiastical constitution cannot, however, be said to have as yet taken its final shape; the efforts of eighteen years had left it still imperfect; nor was the supposed divine right of Presbyterianism yet set forth with the distinctness which it afterwards assumed. But the seeds were now sown from which was to be developed later the full-blown system, and side by side with it the bitter antagonism between State-supported Episcopacy on the

[1] Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 463-473. *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 193-201. Spottiswood, *History*, vol. ii. p. 272.

one hand, and a people striving for ecclesiastical supremacy on the other, which during the next hundred years was to be cause of such prolonged and bloody strife.[1]

Queen Elizabeth's designs in Scotland.

Queen Elizabeth had profited by the fall of Morton to enter into negotiations for an alliance with the young King of Scots, which should at once strengthen the Protestant cause in both countries, and bring the youthful monarch into political subjection to England. The Scottish Protestants, however, viewed with suspicion proposals which seemed aimed against the independence of their country; and meanwhile the leaders of the Catholic party were in communication with the King and Queen-mother of France, the Pope, and the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, with a view to transferring the young king to a Catholic Court, in order that he might be brought up in the religion of his ancestors. On this subject Archbishop Beaton wrote in detail to the Cardinal-Secretary, on November 13, 1578.[2]

Pope Gregory XIII. and Scotland.

Gregory XIII. had in the previous July addressed a letter to the King of Scots, congratulating him on his assumption of the government, and expressing the hope that his reign would witness the revival of the Catholic religion, "the firmest foundation of the safety and endurance of kingdoms."[3] The

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pp. 217-225.

[2] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. ii. pp. 436, 437.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 437. "Quod ista ætate, qua regni curam et gubernaculum suscepisti, optimam spem offeras referendi clarissimorum

Bishop of Ross was the intermediary of another letter from the Pope, bearing the same date, and addressed "to all Scotsmen." In this document Gregory exposes, in a few vigorous sentences, the contradictions which characterise the teaching of error, and exhorts the Scottish people to return forthwith to the only true faith. The Pope also wrote about the same time to Queen Mary, and to the King of France, recommending to their zealous support the efforts of Bishop Leslie for the restoration of the fallen Church.[1] The bishop had received a commission from the queen to use every endeavour to obtain permission for the so-called Scottish monasteries in Germany to be converted into seminaries for the education of Scottish priests. Gregory wrote with this object to the Emperor Rudolph, on July 23, 1578; and the emperor in the following October issued an imperial mandate to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the empire, ordering the several Scottish houses, most of which had long been occupied by German monks, to be restored to their original owners.[2] Little, however, seems to have resulted from the imperial command; and we find Rudolph

The Scoto-German monasteries.

Regum ac majorum tuorum laudem virtutis et pietatis in Catholica religione tuenda et retinenda . . . gratulamur Majestati tuæ merito . . . estque hoc ipsum Catholicæ religionis studium causa et basis stabilissima regnorum incolumitatis et diuturnitatis."

[1] Theiner, *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 438.

[2] The document is given in Dodd (ed. Tierney), vol. iv. Appendix, No. xliv., p. cxxvi.—TRANSLATOR.

himself writing to the Pope in April 1580, informing his Holiness that it was found impossible to give up the Scottish monastery at Vienna, as proposed, since the Scotch had lost the possession of it through their own fault, and it had in consequence been bestowed by Popes Nicholas V. and Paul II. on German monks.[1]

Zeal of Bishop Leslie.

The condition of Scotland at this time did not allow of Bishop Leslie himself returning to that country. He did not, however, cease to use every effort, as he tells the Pope in a letter dated from Paris, July 9, 1580, both by means of messen-

[1] Not all the Scottish monasteries in Germany, however, had shared the fate of S. Maria ad Scotos in Vienna. At the time of the Lateran Council in 1215, the twelfth canon of which ordered all monasteries to constitute themselves into congregations, the Scoto-German houses had numbered twelve, which were subjected to the Abbey of St James at Ratisbon. Unfortunately they did not escape the general religious decline of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and when the Council of Constance ordered an inquisition into their state in 1418, so deplorable from every point of view was their condition found to be, that nearly all were either suppressed, or transferred to German monks. St James's, Ratisbon, alone weathered the storm, and continued in the possession of its original occupants; and its abbots succeeded, towards the end of the sixteenth century, in recovering Erfurt and Würzburg, and repeopling them with monks driven from Scotland. More than a century after Bishop Leslie's death, the scheme which, at the instance of Queen Mary, he had unsuccessfully endeavoured to carry out, found at least a partial fulfilment. Under the zealous administration of Abbot Placid Fleming, a seminary was instituted at Ratisbon in the year 1719 for the education of Scottish youth; and of these a very considerable number either entered various religious orders, or were ordained as secular priests for the Scottish mission.—(*Liber Benefactorum* and *Catalogus Alumnorum Seminarii Scotorum Ratisbonæ*. MSS. Fort-August.) See *post*, vol. iv. chaps. iii. and v., and Appendix No. ix.—TRANSLATOR.

gers and letters, to remind the Scottish Catholics of their duties, to confirm the wavering, and by the publication of learned works to recover those who had fallen from the faith. Nor, he adds, were these endeavours without fruit; even the king himself, he had been assured, read with pleasure the books in question. Leslie also communicated to the Pontiff his project of bringing out a history of the past hundred years, which, among other things, would clearly show that the succession to the English crown, after the decease of Henry VIII's. legitimate issue, fell to Mary Stuart, granddaughter of his sister Margaret.[1]

Arrival of D'Aubigny at the Scottish Court.

The month of September 1579, witnessed the first appearance at the Scottish Court of an individual who for several years afterwards enjoyed the highest favour with the young monarch, and was instrumental in procuring the final downfall of Morton from the power to which he had again attained. This was Esmé Stuart, commonly called Monsieur D'Aubigny, nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, and cousin to Darnley, the king's father. D'Aubigny had been educated in France, in the Catholic religion. He was consequently suspected of being a spy in the service of the French Court and of the Catholic party on the Continent; and his proceedings were watched anxiously and narrowly by the Protestants of Scotland. The young king was before long completely captivated by his

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 219.

accomplished kinsman, on whom he bestowed the earldom of Lennox and other honours.[1] That Lennox remained a Catholic at heart, and was desirous of furthering Catholic interests in Scotland, appears from a letter from Bishop Leslie to the Cardinal-Secretary, dated July 9, 1580. The bishop encloses a letter from Lennox himself, in which he mentions that he had all but succeeded, in the previous April, in carrying the young king, with his own consent, to his castle of Dunbar.[2] He had apparently declared his own adhesion to Catholicism, although for reasons of policy he fraternised with Protestants.[3] In spite of this, however, the leaders of the Kirk entertained a deep distrust of him, which was intensified by the popular rumours then current of an impending attempt to restore the ancient Church. The king and his favourite resolved to counteract this impression by a public declaration; and ac-

His religious views.

[1] He was made Chamberlain of Scotland, and received the commendatory abbacy of Arbroath.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Had the scheme succeeded, James was to have been secretly conveyed from Dunbar to France. Arringtons, Elizabeth's envoy, wrote to Burghley on April 10, 1580 (*Brit. Mus. Calig.*, c. vi. fol. 7), that D'Aubigny repudiated all connivance in any such plot; and Tytler seems to believe that his denial was sincere. But his own assertion, in the letter enclosed in that of Bishop Leslie, proves the contrary.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 220. "Accipies igitur litterarum ejus exemplar hisce meis inclusum, gallice scriptum, in quo commemorato prius studio in Serenissimam nostram Reginam ejusque filium suo, animi constantiam fideique firmitatem pollicetur, licet, ut tanto facilius conatus suos ad fœlicem et optatum exitum perducat, hæreticis arridere conatur."

The "King's Confession."

cordingly a formal confession of faith was drawn up early in 1581, at the desire of James, by the preacher Craig; and after having been subscribed by the king himself, Lennox, and other members of the Council, was ordered to be signed by the whole nation.[1] In this document the subscribers affirm their belief in the doctrines taught in the Established Church of Scotland, as the only true Christian faith and religion, and their detestation of all kinds of Papistry in general and particular. The "usurped authority of the Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Church, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men" is specially condemned and rejected; and the various tenets of Catholic doctrine are severally denounced in terms of unmeasured invective.[2] That Lennox should have consented to subscribe such a document says little for his sense of religion or of honour; but in truth his influence was throughout rather detrimental than advantageous to Catholic interests in Scotland.

[1] According to Spottiswood (*Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 268), the immediate cause of the issue of the King's Confession, as it was called, was the alleged discovery that a dispensation had been granted by the Pope to the Catholics of Scotland, permitting them to promise and subscribe whatever was required of them, so long as they continued secretly true to the faith. The historian gives no authority for this statement, which appears, to say the least, extremely questionable. —TRANSLATOR.

[2] See the facsimile reprint of the *Short Summe of the Whole Catechisme*, published in 1883 by Mr J. T. Gibson-Craig, a descendant of the preacher.

Meanwhile, however, the ascendancy of the favourite over the mind of his royal kinsman was exercised in a manner entirely opposed to the wishes of the Queen of England. Through his influence and that of James Stewart—the second son of Lord Ochiltree, and captain of the Royal Guard—who also stood high in the favour of the young king, the latter renewed his communications with his mother, the imprisoned Queen of Scots.[1] Elizabeth on her side was deep in negotiations with Morton, with a view to the downfall of Lennox; but her plans were suddenly checkmated by the arrest and confinement in Dumbarton Castle of the late Regent, who was accused by Stewart, in the presence of the king and the Privy Council, of having been one of the murderers of Darnley. Elizabeth made every effort on Morton's behalf, and sanctioned, if she did not originate, a plot for the despatch of Lennox and the securing of the person of the king. But the scheme was discovered: Randolph, the English envoy, found himself obliged to quit Scotland; and on June 2, 1581, Morton was beheaded, having been convicted on his own confession of having known and deliberately concealed the conspiracy to murder the late king.

Arrest of Morton.

Efforts of Elizabeth on his behalf.

Execution of Morton, June 2, 1581.

[1] Tytler publishes (*Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iv. p. 322), from the State Paper Office, a letter written by James to his mother at this time, with a curious postscript, praising the fidelity of a little pet ape, probably a former present from the queen to her son.—TRANSLATOR.

Thus perished a man whose share in the dark and treacherous deeds of these stormy times had been not less prominent than the zeal which he had displayed in the destruction of the ancient Church and the foundation of the new gospel.

Projected Scotch seminary in France.

A plan for the maintenance of the Catholic religion in Scotland, more likely to be efficacious than the influence of Lennox, was at this time projected by Queen Mary and Pope Gregory XIII. Writing to the Pope on July 31, 1581, the queen expresses her belief that many young Scotchmen might be found willing to apply to the study of theology, with a view to devoting themselves, after fitting preparation, to the service of the Church in their native land. She states her desire that some of these youths should be formed into a community in France, and goes on to thank his Holiness for the encouragement he has given to her labours, in particular for pecuniary help to the college at Pont-à-Mousson,[1] and for his support to the Scottish College at Paris. The queen concludes with the promise that she will make every effort to procure the education of her son in the Catholic faith.[2]

The Pope was also desirous of sending to Scot-

[1] The college at Pont-à-Mousson had been originally founded at Tournai in 1576 by Dr Cheyne, a Scotchman and canon of Tournai. It had only lately been removed to Pont-à-Mousson, whence it was afterwards transferred to Douai, then to Louvain, and finally, in 1612, re-established at Douai. See *post*, chap. vii.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 300, 301.

land some members of the recently established Society of Jesus. The Bishop of Ross, to whom he communicated his wish, entered into negotiations with the Duke of Guise, Cesare Castelli, Bishop of Rimini and nuncio at Paris, and the Provincial of the Society; and on January 31, 1581, he wrote to the Pope on the subject, laying great stress on the difficulties that stood in the way.[1] He mentions in the same letter that communication between the Queen of Scots and France is now almost entirely interrupted—letters from the queen to himself having been more than six months on the way. The important position of France as a place of refuge for the fugitive English and Scottish Catholics was significantly shown at this time by the act of Gregory XIII., who, at the request of Dr (afterwards Cardinal) Allen, nominated the nuncio at Paris for the time being as Ordinary both for England and Scotland.[2]

Jesuit missionaries for Scotland.

The French nuncio nominated Ordinary of England and Scotland.

[1] The Society had, however, already gained a footing in Scotland. Fr. John Hay wrote on Nov. 9, 1579, to the General (see Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 141 *et seq.*), describing the excitement caused by his arrival in Dundee in the previous January. The rumour at once spread that *twelve* eminent Jesuits (who were said to be a "new race of persons, far worse than the Papists") had landed in Scotland, and "had begun to prove that all the ministers were ignorant deceivers."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Knox, *Records of English Catholics*, vol. i. p. 364. Gregory XIII. grants (Jan. 15, 1582) the petition of Dr William Allen and the Jesuits on the English mission—"prima; che il nuntio Apostolico che *pro tempore* sarà appresso il christianissimo rè di Francia, mentre dura questo schisma, sia costituito Ordinario, così di Inglesi, come di Scozesi."

Report of a Scottish missionary.

Some interesting details as to the prospects of Catholicism in Scotland are given in a report made by a priest in the Scottish mission to Dr Allen, and forwarded by the latter on February 18, 1582, to the Cardinal-Secretary at Rome.[1] The

Attitude of King James.

report states that the king has so far been badly taught by the heretical ministers, and knows hardly anything about the Catholic faith; yet he is not so obstinately confirmed in heresy but that hopes are entertained that he will readily listen to the arguments of Catholics. He has indeed promised the queen, his mother, to do so. Many of the nobility are described as inclined towards the Catholic cause, but they do not think they are strong enough to act without assistance. They have no expectation of this being obtained from France; but they would seek it willingly from the supreme Pontiff or from the King of Spain, were there any chance of its being afforded. Meanwhile they will use such means as are in their power, and it is suggested that some learned men should talk to the king, and public disputations be held between the priests and the ministers; or if this be impracticable, that the queen's permission be obtained for the king to be conveyed to some Catholic Court, and properly instructed in the Catholic faith.[2]

[1] The name of the priest was William Watts. The letter of Cardinal Allen is printed by Theiner (*Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 370), and, with Watts's report, is translated by Forbes-Leith (*Narratives*, pp. 174 *et seq.*).—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, *loc. cit.*

The number of native priests in Scotland at this time was but few. The spiritual needs of the Catholics were for the most part supplied by clergy from England, who had been driven out of that country by the persecuting policy of Elizabeth. They met with a friendly reception from many of the nobility and citizens, administered the sacraments both in public and in private, and also preached, the difference between the English and Scottish speech at this time not being sufficient to prevent their so doing. It appears to have been the general opinion that it was by no means safe or advisable for Scottish priests at this period to exercise their ministry in their native country, whereas the exiled English clergy had a special claim on their hospitality and protection.[1] Queen Mary, indeed, had anticipated that the ancient enmity between the two nations would prove seriously detrimental to the success of their labours in Scotland; but experience proved that her fears were unfounded.[2] The zeal of these

Scarcity of native priests.

Missionaries from England.

Their pastoral zeal.

[1] The reader will not fail to recall the interesting parallel to this afforded in more recent times, when the exiled clergy of France fled in hundreds to the shores of England (where their brethren were dwelling scattered and proscribed under the shadow of the penal statutes), and received there, from almost every class of society, a warm and generous welcome that did much to prepare the way for a happier state of things.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 370-372. "Opinio autem Scotorum est, quod suæ gentis sacerdotes nec tam tuto, nec forte tam fructuose ibi hoc tempore degere queant atque Angli, qui exulum nomine (ut dixi) recipiuntur ubique; cum tamen Serenissima Regina Scotorum timuerit ab initio Anglos, propter antiquum illorum inter se odium non potuisse fructuose laborare. Sed contrarium

good missionaries is abundantly testified in many passages of the report from which we have already quoted. "We celebrated daily," writes Fr. Watts, "during the Christmas season, in the house of Lord Seton, the greater part of his household, which is very numerous, being present." It is urgently recommended that learned ecclesiastics be sent, both from the Society of Jesus and from the college at Rheims, to reside near the Court, where they might find opportunity of conversing with the king and those about him. Among those favourable to the Catholic cause were, besides Lennox, the Earls of Huntly, Eglinton, Argyle, and Caithness, and Lords Hume and Seton, the latter of whom had had his son Alexander educated in the Roman seminary. The report

The nobility and the Catholic cause.

experti sumus." Similar testimony as to the queen's sentiments is borne by the Jesuit report sent to Pope Clement VIII. in 1594 (Barberini MS., xxxii., fol. 227). "Pope Gregory the Thirteenth of happy memory had formed a fixed resolve to free every kingdom from heresy; in furtherance of which design he considered it a matter of importance that the King of Scotland should be brought up in the Catholic faith. His Holiness was aware of the claim of this king to the whole of Britain. Various plans were formed with the object of removing him from Scotland into Italy or Lorraine, that in his youth he might be educated in the true religion. For this end the Pope grudged no outlay. But while the affair had proceeded so far as to seem to be all but complete, it failed in being successful, as a punishment for our sins. It was the queen's opinion that no Catholic priests ought to be sent into Scotland. They were willing, indeed, to shed their blood for the restoration of the faith; but their presence disturbed the tranquillity of the realm, and hindered the success of the business then in progress."—Translated by Fr. Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, Append. I., pp. 134, 135).

containing these particulars was addressed to Allen from London; but the writer expresses his intention of at once returning to Scotland, before the roads were closed by the insurrectionary movement which the "ungrateful Earl of Arran"[1] was said to be planning against Lennox and the king. The report concludes with a statement that fasting had been abandoned in Scotland, owing to the fact that priests were usually detected by their refusal to eat meat: and a dispensation is consequently requested from his Holiness for permission to eat flesh.[2]

Petition for a dispensation from fasting.

The year 1582 witnessed the execution of one of those daring conspiracies against the person of the sovereign, which fill so large a part in the history of the realm of Scotland. The "Raid of Ruthven," as it was called, was planned and carried out by the Earl of Gowrie, one of the leaders of the Protestants and of the party hostile to Lennox. Together with his associates, he treacherously confined the young king in his castle of Ruthven, which he had visited on a hunting excursion, and thence carried him to Stirling. The action of the conspirators was warmly supported by the preachers, who, aware of the favour with which Lennox regarded the aims of the Catholic

The "Raid of Ruthven."

[1] This was James Stewart—Lennox's former friend and the accuser of Morton—recently created Earl of Arran.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 177-180.

party, were bitterly opposed to his influence with the king.[1] A short time previous to this incident, a meeting had been held in Paris by the friends of the Catholic cause, to consider the situation in Scotland. It was attended by Archbishop Beaton, the nuncio Castelli, the Duke of Guise, Dr Allen, and others; and a resolution was taken to despatch at once to Rome the Jesuit Creighton (who had lately returned from Scotland, where he had been favourably received by Lennox); while Father Persons, of the same Society, was to proceed to Spain. Both were to endeavour to procure pecuniary help towards a Scottish expedition, while Persons was also to negotiate to obtain the consent of King Philip to the betrothal of his eldest daughter to James. Queen Mary at the same time signified her consent to concede to her son the title of king,[2] and herself sent another Jesuit father to Rome with letters to Pope Gre-

Jesuit missionaries to Rome and Spain.

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Cifra del Nuntio di Francia*, 28 Agosto 1582, fol. 512). "Il Duca di Lenos fa saper al Duca di Guisa che in Scotia le cose sono in tal stato che è pericolo di solleuatione, hauendo quelli ministri fatta istanza a quel Principe che si leui d'appresso detto Duca come fauoreole de Religione Catholica che essi dimandano Papistica, e parimenti perche hauendo essi escommunicato un ministro che hauendo havuto del detto Principe l'Arc^to. Glasgouiense conuerta tutti i frutti in util proprio, gli hanno protestato che se non li leuasse l'Arc^to., et si astenga dal suo comercio, che lo esaccieranno."

[2] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Cifra del Nuntio di Francia*, 26 Settembre 1582, fol. 550). "Ancorchè la Regina di Scotia sia ristretta con commissione (?) che non le permetta scriuere ad altr., tuttavia scriue che il suo fig^lo. è stato ritenuto contra sua uolontà, che essa si contenta cedergli il titolo di Rè senza prejudicio di una secreta conuenzione che è fra loro."

gory.[1] Before, however, these emissaries could discharge their office, the news arrived of the unfavourable turn that affairs had taken in Scotland. In the course of a short time, indeed, the strict confinement in which the king was kept was somewhat relaxed, but he still remained completely in the power of the conspirators. Lennox had expressly informed Father Creighton that the Queen of England was plotting James's death.[2] Lennox himself remained in Scotland until the close of the year 1582,[3] but was shortly afterwards compelled to retire to France, whence he never returned.

Lennox banished to France.

The once powerful favourite had, in truth, during the recent momentous events displayed striking weakness of character. To the frequently expressed desires of the Scottish Catholics to liberate their sovereign by force of arms, and to

Vacillating policy of Lennox.

[1] Theiner (*Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 373) gives the text of the queen's recommendatory letter. The nuncio at Paris wrote on November 8: "L'apportatore dela presente sarà un Padre della Compagnia di Giesu, Francese, qual è stato alcuni mesi appresso la Regina di Scotia, e sen è partito poco fà. Esso se inuia di ordine di detta Regina a N. S^e. per trattare con S. S^a. molti capi spirituali et temporali."—*Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Francia*, fol. 572).

[2] Knox, *Records of the English Catholics*, vol. ii. p. xxxviii. "He [Lennox] said that the king was continually running great risk of his life through the secret machinations of the Queen of England to deprive him of it."—Report by Tassis to Philip II. of Creighton's visit to Lennox, May 18, 1582.

[3] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Francia*, 1583, fol. 9). *Relatio rerum Scoticarum. Londini*, 27 *Decembr.* 1582. "Rex maximo Lennoxium prosequitur amore; moleste ferunt nobiles adversæ factionis, quod non discedat ex Scotia, nihilominus Rex non irascitur."

their appeals that he would openly place himself at their head, he had altogether refused to respond.[1] Nor can it be doubted that it was his vacillating religious policy which effectually discouraged the zeal of the Scottish clergy in Paris, who would willingly have devoted themselves to missionary labours in their native country, had it not been represented to them that their so doing would add fresh embarrassment to the position of the king. Queen Mary had shared this mistaken impression, which, however, she probably saw reason to change by the year 1584, when the remarkable results that followed the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland began to be apparent.[2] Gowrie had by that time paid the

[1] *Barberini MSS.*, fol. 228 *et seq.* "Lennox at this time [after the Raid of Ruthven] was resident in Edinburgh. Having none to advise him, he sent for the Catholics, who (being acquainted with the state of affairs) told him that nothing more now remained to be done than that all of them should take up arms ; and they promised that within a few days they could muster a considerable body of troops. The king, in the meantime, sent his letters to Lennox, by which he ordered him to keep quiet, for his majesty did not venture to oppose the wishes of his captors in any way, dreading that it would fare the worse with himself were he to do so. These orders threw Lennox into renewed agitation. The Catholics, the most of whom by this time had assembled, declared that the king's letters were of no value, from the fact of his being in the hands of his enemies. . . . But Lennox could not be induced by any arguments to make the attempt. Hence it was that a few days afterwards there came other letters from the king, ordering him to leave the realm under pain of treason. He yielded and returned into France, not without great disgrace to himself, and no less danger to the Catholic religion."—Transl. by Fr. Stevenson (*Mary Stewart*, Append. I., pp. 137, 138).

[2] *Barberini MSS.*, fol. 229. "While Lennox was resident in

penalty of his many crimes, having been tried and condemned to death for high treason. The king, who attributed to him the chief part in the banishment of his favourite Lennox, refused to

Trial and execution of Gowrie.

Scotland along with the king, a golden opportunity presented itself for the return thither of the Scottish priests who were then resident in Paris. Their number was considerable: they were men of high character and admirable learning, and they would most gladly have undertaken the mission. But the persons who measured everything by the dictates of human prudence, fearing that the king might possibly incur some danger thereby, decided that the attempt should be postponed until some other opportunity. But when it became obvious that the daily loss of souls in Scotland was great, and that the plans of these politicians had proved a failure, certain priests of the Society of Jesus, along with a few inmates of the College of Pont-à-Mousson, set out on the mission in the year 1584. Its success was very remarkable, although it had not the approval either of the Queen of Scotland nor of the more prudent ones. From that time the face of the country was entirely changed, and so great was the visible increase among the Catholics that they could easily have shaken off the yoke of the heretics, and their English brethren might have neutralised the power of their enemies in that realm."—Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139.

Queen Mary had undoubtedly been deceived with regard to the probable consequences of sending Catholic missionaries to Scotland; and she appears about this time to have fallen into a serious error in reference to a different matter. In the course of the year 1582 she requested the nuncio at Paris to obtain for fifty English and Scottish Catholics permission to attend the Protestant service. See Knox, *Records of English Cath.*, vol. i. pp. 335, 336. (Mary Queen of Scots to G. B. Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, Papal Nuncio at Paris.) "Prego . . . vostro favore . . . verso S. Sa., che le piaccia de concedermi la licenza et dispensatione per cinquanta Inglesi, Scozzesi, buoni cattolici, di trovarsi alle preci usate fra gli heretici di questa Isola, come essi sono costretti per forza di far." On May 22, 1582, the nuncio forwarded the petition to the Cardinal of Como, the Pope's secretary, with the prudent remark, "Et per quel che concerne il dar licenza a quei Inglesi o Scozzesi . . . non ho dubbio che N. Se. non sia per negar lo totalmente, e però non ne parlo."

remit the extreme penalty, which was accordingly executed in May 1584.

In the midst of the general excitement caused by the Raid of Ruthven throughout the kingdom, occurred the deaths of two remarkable men, who both by word and by pen had exercised a lasting influence on the progress of religious and political events in Scotland. George Buchanan, born of poor parents in 1506, had been sent by his uncle, John Heriot, to the University of Paris, where he studied under John Mair, and graduated in the Scottish College in 1527.[1] For many years he led a somewhat unsettled life, partly in France and partly in Portugal, in which latter country he was brought before the Inquisition in 1548, on a charge of holding suspected doctrine, and was sentenced to imprisonment in a monastery for some months. In 1553 he returned to Paris and resided there for some years, devoting himself chiefly to Latin literature. It was not until after the religious revolution of 1560 that he permanently fixed his residence in Scotland. Buchanan belonged to that class of humanists, the whole bent of whose genius and training was

Death of George Buchanan, September 1582.

[1] The author adds that Buchanan was partly educated under Mair's own roof, and was supported by him at the Paris University. But Irving, perhaps the best authority on the subject, expressly contradicts this statement, which is not even mentioned by Buchanan's latest biographers. Were it true that he owed his scholastic training to Mair's generosity, the sarcastic epigrams which he aimed at him in after-life would say little for his sense of gratitude to his former benefactor.—TRANSLATOR.

directed to the exaltation of paganism, and corresponding depreciation of Christianity. Although he made little secret of his own scepticism,[1] he nevertheless appeared in the van of the champions of the new evangel, with the result that he was chosen moderator of the Assembly, and enjoyed a considerable income from the suppressed Abbey of Crossraguel, as well as a pension of a hundred pounds from the Queen of England. There is no doubt that he took a part in the plots devised by Moray and Morton. He was Queen Mary's earliest preceptor after her return to Scotland,[2] and received from her many favours, which he repaid by the publication, in 1570, of the shameful *Detectio*, whose unfounded calumnies[3] blackened for generations to come his victim's fair name, and were the real origin of the notorious Casket Letters. Buchanan's subsequent work, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was suppressed by Act of Parliament, on account of its revolutionary prin-

His scepticism,

and ingratitude.

[1] Andrew Melvill, who ought to have known, describes him as a "Stoick philosopher, who looked not far before him" (*Memoirs*, p. 125).—TRANSLATOR.

[2] "The queen," Randolph wrote to Cecil in April 1562, "readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Buchanan, somewhat of Lyvie."—TRANSLATOR.

[3] A recent impartial writer says: "The *Detection* must be deemed a calumnious work, which not only sought out doubtful and trivial incidents to blacken her character, but invented others for which there was no warrant. . . . For these charges there is no evidence, and they have been silently dropped even by historians who believe her capable of any wickedness."—Dr Æneas Mackay, *Dict. of Nation. Biogr.*, vol. vii.—TRANSLATOR.

ciples, two years after publication, and its circulation prohibited. Ninian Winzet, among others, published a reply to it in 1582.[1]

Buchanan's genius and personal character.

Buchanan's remarkable mastery of the Latin tongue, and the elegance of his literary style, entitle him to a foremost place among the classical scholars of the Renaissance. But he was not a man of deep learning, and his personal character can only be called contemptible. Even Mr Laing admits that his statement incriminating Archbishop Hamilton in Darnley's murder is a deliberate falsehood. According to Goodall, "both Buchanan and Knox have falsified so notoriously in their narrations of real facts, that no credit can be given them when they tell us of designs and intentions only;"[2] and what they have written deserves no consideration, as they were men of abominable practices and correspondent characters. Hosack, in his defence of Queen Mary, stigmatises Buchanan as the prince of literary prostitutes.[3]

Sir James Balfour.

In the year 1583 Sir James Balfour was summoned to answer for his long life of treachery and crime. He had (with his brothers Gilbert and David) formed part of the band of assassins who had murdered Cardinal Beaton in 1546. For

[1] Winzet's *Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum* was published at Ingolstadt in 1582, conjointly with the *Flagellum Sectariorum*.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Goodall, *An Examination*, &c. (1754), vol. i. p. 259.

[3] *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 248.

many years subsequently he supported the party of Mary of Guise, whose secrets he ultimately betrayed to the Congregation; and he became thereafter one of the leaders of Protestantism, and a Lord of Session under Queen Mary. He joined the conspiracy against the life of Darnley, and is said to have himself drawn up the bond at Craigmillar, by which Moray, Morton, Bothwell, and their accomplices, agreed to the fatal deed. At Bothwell's fall from power, Balfour adroitly made terms with Moray, by the surrender of Edinburgh Castle (of which he was governor), receiving in return a rich priory for his son, and a pension of £500, with the presidency of the Court of Session, for himself.[1] Later on, he joined the side of Morton against his old associates Kirkaldy and Maitland; and he finally took part against Morton himself, by producing at his trial the bond for Darnley's murder, which had been drawn up by his own hand. Balfour's whole life may thus be said, with little exaggeration, to have been spent in purchasing his own interests at the expense of the betrayal of his associates in crime; and he has richly merited the epithet of "the most corrupt man of his age"—an age notorious for corruption so widespread as to be all but universal.

The "most corrupt man of his age."

[1] See *ante*, p. 159.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH FROM 1582 TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1587).

Attitude of the preachers towards the Crown.

THE success of the Raid of Ruthven, and the ignominious position to which it had reduced the person and authority of the sovereign, had been rendered possible only by the powerful support which the influence of the preachers had lent to the plot. Far from making any secret of his approval of the lawless deed, Melvill, now the recognised leader of the Kirk, justified it in the most public manner. Durie, who had been ordered by the Council to quit the capital on account of his seditious language in the pulpit, preached before the king at Stirling on September the 2d, and two days later entered Edinburgh in triumph, escorted by the people singing the 124th Psalm. On the 9th of the following month the Assembly met at Edinburgh, when David Lindsay was chosen moderator, and the action of Gowrie in detaining the king's person was formally approved. The preachers were strictly enjoined to expound

the justice of the proceedings to their several congregations, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures if they refused to comply. The Assembly next turned their attention to the obnoxious Tulchan-bishops;[1] and certain presbyteries were instructed to summon before them, to answer for various offences, the *quasi*-bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, St Andrews, Dunblane, and the Isles, and to "take order" with them before the next Assembly. This was held in the following April (1583), but in the meantime the bishops do not seem to have been molested. The Assembly at this session passed a resolution which is at once a testimony to the narrow exclusiveness of the new doctrines, and a significant commentary on the reproach of interfering between man and his Creator which Protestant theologians have brought against the ancient Church. Baptism administered by laymen—*i.e.*, by those not admitted to the Presbyterian ministry—was pronounced invalid, and re-baptism in such cases declared to be necessary.

The *Tulchan*-bishops.

Resolution of the Assembly as to re-baptism.

Meanwhile the antagonism between the State bishops, who were supported by the king and

The prelates and the preachers.

[1] In 1639, the moderator of the Assembly, we are told, "craved liberty to expone what was meant by *Tulchan-bishops*. It was a Scots word used in their common language. When a cow will not let down her milk, they stuff a calf's skin full of straw, and set it down before the cow, and that was called a *Tulchan*. So these bishops, possessing the title and the benefice, without the office, they wist not what name to give them, and so they called them Tulchan-bishops" (Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk*, p. 248).—Translator.

Council, and the majority of the preachers and their adherents, became daily more acute. The prelates forced their way into their cathedrals, protected by armed soldiers, while the opposite party stirred up among the people riots which frequently ended in hand-to-hand fights. At other times the preachers themselves were attacked, as at Glasgow, where they were torn from the pulpits in the middle of their sermons, beaten and otherwise maltreated, and thrust into the street by their opponents. In the midst of these scenes of popular excitement, occurred the arrival in Scotland of De Menainville, the new ambassador from France. It was hotly debated what reception was to be given to this emissary of Antichrist. France was denounced as the stronghold of idolatry, and its monarch as a tiger, thirsting for the blood of Christians; and it was resolved to protest against the admission of his representative into the realm. A deputation of divines accordingly waited on the king to lay before him their views, to which James replied that he was bound by the law of nations courteously to receive ambassadors from whatever power, even from the Pope or the Grand Turk himself. The dissatisfaction of the preachers at this rejoinder was not lessened by the outspoken language of De Menainville on the occasion of his reception at Court. "I am come," he said, "from the Most Christian King of France, my sovereign,

Arrival of the French ambassador.

His bold words.

to offer all aid to the establishment of quietness; and being an ambassador, and not a subject, I crave to be treated as such; and as I have food allotted for my body, so do I require to be allowed the food of my soul, I mean the Mass; which if it is denied me, I may not stay and suffer a Christian prince's authority and embassy to be violated in my person."[1]

The young king, apparently, was not ill-pleased with these bold words: indeed, his next proceeding was one calculated to aggravate rather than to allay the resentment of the preachers. Orders were given to the magistrates of the capital to entertain the retiring French ambassador, De la Motte Fenelon, at a banquet. At this the wrath of the ministers broke all bounds. The pulpits resounded with the most violent and opprobrious language; and by way of adding practical point to their denunciations, the leaders of the Kirk proclaimed a solemn fast, to begin on the same day as the profane feasting of their opponents. "At this moment," remarks an impartial historian, "the scene presented by the capital was extraordinary. On one side, the king and his courtiers indulging in mirth and festive carousal; whilst, on the other, was heard the thunder of the Kirk, and its ministers 'crying out all evil, slanderous, and injurious words that could be spoken against France,' and threatening with anathema and

Violent measures of the preachers.

[1] MS. Calderwood, fol. 1253 (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 59).

excommunication the citizens who had dared to countenance the unholy feast."[1] In a report sent from Paris at this time to the Cardinal-Secretary, the hope is expressed that these extraordinary excesses might open the eyes of the young monarch, and so lead to a better state of things.[2]

James, meanwhile, was by no means reconciled to the loss of his favourite Lennox; but so high was the feeling against him among the dominant faction in the country, that it was in vain for the king to think of recalling him from France. In

[1] Tytler, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Franc.*, 1583, fol. 82). The report is dated from Paris, March 20, 1583, and is subscribed "Per vestræ S. humilem Oratorem"—probably Bishop Leslie. "Apud eum [Regem Scotiæ] Christianissimi Regis Galliarum oratores duo magno in honore sunt, quorum unus in aula ipsius mansurus propter spectatum in religione zelum adolescenti principi in rectam viam revocando non parum profuturus creditur. Quamquam per excubantem ubique factiosiorum vigilantiam opus hoc modis omnibus principio prohibeatur. Petit liberum religionis catholicæ in suis saltem ædibus usum. Negant ei et ultima quæque passuros, tum facturos se minantur, priusque huic postulato annuant. Unde quis rerum nostrarum status sit, Ill^ma. Tua Dominatio colligere facile potest. Quamvis autem præsentis status ea deploratio sit, ut nulla major esse posse videatur: tamen ad spem expectationemque meliorem fruendam non parum momenti in ea est. Hæreticæ siquidem pravitatis fructus princeps puer hic primum non tantum videre, sed etiam tangere et gustare poterit, et quos in reginæ matris persona vel per animi cæcitatem non dispexit, vel per securitatem neglexit, nunc ipse animo simul et corpore vorare cogitur."

The name of the Cardinal of Como, to whom the report is addressed, was Tolomeo Galli, a native of Como. He was made cardinal by Pius IV., and was Secretary of State to Gregory XIII. from 1572 to 1585. He died in 1607 (Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali*, 1792, vol. vii. pp. 59-61).

the course of his journey through England, Lennox had met two ambassadors on their road to Scotland. These were De la Motte and Davison: the former charged with important messages from the King of France, and the latter bearing the secret commission of Queen Elizabeth to support the party of Ruthven by every means in his power. Elizabeth was aware that the French envoy was instructed to propose an arrangement or "association" (as it was termed) between Queen Mary and her son in the government of Scotland, the latter to retain the kingly title; and also to negotiate respecting a marriage between the King of Scots and a daughter of France. The English monarch, accordingly, threw every obstacle in the way of the ambassador's departure for Scotland, in order to prevent him from entering into communication with Lennox; and Walsingham, her astute minister, carried out her wishes so successfully, that the short interview on the journey was all that took place between them. Lennox made his way to Paris, where he at once entered into intimate relations with the Scottish Catholics resident there, although continuing his external association with the Protestant party. The hopes which King James did not cease to indulge of the return of his favourite to the Scottish Court were frustrated by the sudden death of Lennox, which took place at Paris on May 26, 1583. The possession of many good quali-

Intrigues of Queen Elizabeth.

Death of Lennox in Paris, May 1583.

ties cannot be denied to him: he had been a faithful friend both to James and to his royal mother; and his efforts to bring about a solution of the difficulty, caused by the former assuming the kingly title in the lifetime of the queen, although they were ineffectual, were yet sincerely meant. It is impossible, indeed, to speak except in terms of reprobation of the duplicity which was his characteristic attitude towards religion: yet the Scottish Catholics deplored his loss as that of the foundation-stone of their hopes of success.[1] There can be little doubt that Lennox was throughout Catholic at heart: he received the last sacraments with apparent devotion; promised, if he recovered, to make open profession of his faith; and died in excellent dispositions, attended by and in the presence of the good Archbishop of Glasgow.[2]

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Cifra del Nuncio di Francia*, fol. 193), St Cloud, June 11, 1583. "Essendo morto il Duca di Lenox, habbiamo perduto il fondamento di Scotia, et bisogna far nuovo disegno per quel regno." After reference to a recent conference, in which the Duke of Guise, the Spanish agent, Tassis de Menainville (the ambassador to Scotland), and Father Aquaviva had taken part, the nuncio goes on: "Questo solo per hora posso dire, che q°. neg°. per la morte di Lenox è molto peggiorato, e le difficoltà son cresciute . . . tuttavia parlai di modo che essi s'indusse a credere che N. S^e. disegni fabbricare un collegio a Scozzesi."

[2] *Archiv. Vatic.*, *loc. cit.*, fol. 198, St Cloud, June 13, 1583. "Quel Duca di Lennos finalmente è morto senza haver pur potuto vedere questo Rè . . . ma Dio lo ha aiutato pero che essendo lui stato, come se diceva, sempre catolico, ma simultato esser Ogonotto, mosso de la man di Dio si confessò dal Padre Claudio Gesuita, et promise vivendo voler palesamente mostrarsi catolico, et secretamente si communicò, et il giorno seguente à l'altro morì catolicamente, et vi si trovò Mons. Arcivescovo Glasguense."

Plot against the life of Elizabeth.

Some time previous to the death of Lennox, it would seem that the project had been entertained by the Guises and their adherents of removing Queen Elizabeth from their path by violent means. "The Duke of Guise and the Duke of Mayenne," wrote the nuncio at Paris to the Cardinal of Como, May 2, 1583, "have told me that they have a plan for killing the Queen of England by the hand of a Catholic, though not one outwardly, who is near her person, and is ill-affected towards her for having put to death some of his Catholic relations. This man, it seems, sent word of this to the Queen of Scotland, but she refused to listen to it. . . . The duke asks for no assistance from our lord [the Pope] for this affair. . . . As to putting to death that wicked woman, I said to him that I will not write about it to our lord the Pope, nor tell your most illustrious lordship to inform him of it; because, though I believe our lord the Pope would be glad that God should punish in any way whatever that enemy of His, still it would be unfitting that His Vicar should procure it by these means. The duke was satisfied."[1] On the 23d of May the cardinal thus replied to the nuncio's despatch: "I have reported

[1] Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 412. Fr. Persons alludes to the same incident in a letter to Don Juan de Ydiaquey, dated from Rome, June 30, 1587, but his account is inaccurate. (*Records*, p. 388, and see footnote.) "Un cierto cavallero mozo en Ynglaterra, el quale avea prometito a los dichos (Morgano y Pagetto) de matar a la Reina de Ynglaterra para la dicha somma de deneros, come ellos hacian creer a la Reyna."

to our lord the Pope what your lordship has written to me in cipher about the affairs of England, and since his Holiness cannot but think it good that this kingdom should be in some way or other relieved from oppression and restored to God and our holy religion, his Holiness says that, in the event of the matter being effected, there is no doubt that the 80,000 crowns will be, as your lordship says, very well employed."[1]

The question as to the lawfulness of the project.

Father Knox, whose researches first brought the foregoing letters to light, has added to them some explanatory remarks as to the conduct of the Duke of Guise on this occasion, and also as to the attitude of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the French nuncio, the Spanish agent, and Philip II., who were all (as indeed was Pope Gregory himself) apparently cognisant of the project of putting Elizabeth to death, and if they did not actually approve it, at least seem to have abstained from protesting against it. Elizabeth's treatment of her rival the Queen of Scots, is compared to that of a bandit who seizes an unoffending traveller, and holds him prisoner until he has paid for his ransom a sum which he is quite powerless to obtain. Could the prisoner secure his liberty only by the death of his captor, no one could deny his right to seek it by that means. Elizabeth, as we know, had planned both with Morton and with Mar the murder of her kinswoman ; and the justness of the

[1] Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 413.

parallel between her conduct and that of the bandit cannot be disputed. "Both," observes Father Knox, "detain with equal justice the prisoner who has fallen into their hands. Both have the power and the will to murder their prisoner, if circumstances render it advisable. Both prisoners are unable to persuade their captors to release them. If, then, it be no sin in the captive, either by his own hand or the hand of others, to kill the bandit chief and so escape, why was it a sin to kill Elizabeth, and by doing so to save from a life-long prison and impending death her helpless victim the Queen of Scots?"[1] However, the projected scheme, whatever may be said for its lawfulness or the reverse, was very speedily abandoned, as appears from letters written in May and June 1583, both by the nuncio and the Spanish agent.[2]

Conciliatory attitude of James.

Meanwhile the young King of Scots had given proof of his conciliatory disposition towards his Catholic subjects, by promising, at the request of De Menainville, that they should not be further harassed. The French ambassador, indeed, was able to report that the monarch, whom he believed to possess an excellent understanding, was by no means so wedded to Calvinism but that there appeared good hope of recovering him to the Catholic religion.[3] His attitude, in truth, for some time

[1] *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. li.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 414. Teulet, tom. v. p. 281.
[3] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Cifra del Nunt. di Franc.*, 30 Maggio 1583, fol.

past had seemed to warrant such a belief. Whilst the Catholic party in England were making every effort to induce Philip of Spain to despatch an expedition to the aid of the captive Queen of Scots,[1] and Cardinal Allen in Paris was earnestly endeavouring to enlist Pope Gregory in the same cause,[2] James on his side was in process of negotiation with the Duke of Guise, whose agent he had already received with marked friendliness at his Court.[3] In January 1584 he despatched the Master of Gray and the laird of Fintry with letters to the duke, informing him that they would communicate all particulars by word of mouth.[4] A few weeks later he sent another letter to the duke through Lord Seton, at that time Scottish ambassador at the Court of France. In this despatch the king complains bitterly of the conduct of his rebellious subjects, who, supported by the Queen of England, aimed at depriving him of his

170). "È venuto Mons. de Meneuil, et da lui ho inteso lo stato di Scotia. Quanto al principe lo trovò di molto ingegno. . . . Esso nella setta Calvinista non è cosi fermo, che non sia facile la speranza di ridurlo à la Relig. Cat^a. Havendogli Mons. de Meneuil mostrato, che per ottener il Reg^o. d'Inghilterra non può sperar aiuto se no da Cat^ci, gli ha detto in voce e promesso di non voler perseguitare i Cat^ci."

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 480-482.

[2] *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. pp. 201. Allen to Cardinal of Como, August 8, 1583.

[3] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 479. "Deus illius iter ita direxit, ut etsi Catholicus sit, optimè acceptus, ejus [Regis] animum optime disposuerit."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 801. (An old Italian translation of the French original.)

crown and life, or what he valued even more, namely, his honour and liberty.[1] He adds that he has appealed to the Holy Father for assistance, and that, failing his speedy intervention, he will be compelled to throw himself into the arms of his opponents, and comply with all their demands. The laird of Fintry was in the meantime in communication with Archbishop Beaton. He wrote to him from Edinburgh on January 23, 1584, that he had been excommunicated by the Kirk on the preceding Christmas, but that he did not concern himself about this, as long as the Master of Gray was able to remain at Court, and that they would both constantly endeavour to serve the interests of the Duke of Guise. Fintry added that if an expedition was decided on, it should be undertaken as speedily as possible. Gray was being cruelly harassed by the preachers on account of his religion, and Elizabeth was doing all in her power to influence the young king; while at the same time she did not hesitate to affirm, in presence of the Archbishop of St Andrews (who was in London in connection with the pending disputes between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties), that James was both deceitful and untrustworthy.[2]

Negotiations with Archbishop Beaton.

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 801. "Hora mi pare che le forze de miei inimici et rebelli s'accrescono di giorno in giorno con li ajuti et modi, che gli dà la Regina d'Inghilterra, per sovertir il mio Stato et levarmi la propria vita, o almeno il mio honore et libertà, quale io stimo più che la vita."

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 802, 803.

A few days later Gray despatched to Archbishop Beaton a letter by the hands of Walter Adamson, who was charged to receive from the archbishop the sum of six thousand *scudi*, intended for the payment of the royal body-guard. Gray in the same letter decribes the Earl of Arran as a veritable plague, who may ruin both the king and the realm.[1] Dr Allen and Lord Seton, writing to the Cardinal-Secretary and to Gregory XIII. respectively in the spring of 1584, both expressed themselves very hopefully with regard to the projected Spanish expedition.[2] Seton assures the Pope of the king's aversion to the ministers (more especially since the banishment of his favourite Lennox), and of his entire confidence in the Duke of Guise, whose counsel he was prepared to follow in every particular. Seton further expresses the earnest hope that his Holiness will not only urge on the execution of the proposed scheme, but will personally assist and promote it, and that without delay, in view of the pressing need for immediate action; for the plans of the Queen of England, if allowed to succeed, will infallibly be the ruin of religion. Archbishop Beaton, as we see from his letter to the Cardinal of Como about the same date, was far from being so sanguine as his friends of the success of their projects. He would seem, indeed,

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 803. "Il maledetto Conte d'Arran, il quale è una vera peste per sturbar il Stato del Rè e del suo Regno."

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 597, 598.

to have had little confidence in the assistance which was supposed to be forthcoming to their cause from various quarters, and declares that his chief, if not his sole hope, is in the support of the Holy See.[1]

King James and Pope Gregory XIII.

The archbishop's evident mistrust of the young King of Scots proved to be only too well founded. James himself wrote to the Pope on February 19, 1584, describing the deplorable situation of his royal mother, setting forth his own necessities, and entreating the assistance of the Pontiff in the difficult circumstances in which he found himself.[2] Whether the sentiments of veneration towards the Pope, and of affectionate solicitude for his "dearest and most honoured lady mother," to which the young monarch gives utterance in this letter, were the genuine outcome of his heart, may perhaps be considered questionable. Even if we give him the benefit of the doubt, it is clear that his views must shortly afterwards have undergone a remarkable change. Elizabeth, by means of her spies in the various cities of Europe, contrived to discover the names of almost all the Catholics who were concerned in the proposed Spanish expedition. Gray, moreover, had the baseness to turn traitor, and to communicate to Elizabeth all the

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 599. "Magna pars salutis nostræ in manu Suæ Sanctitatis sita esse videtur. . . . Nam timemus, ne spes illa, quæ in aliis ponitur, sit tam cunctabunda, ut parum sit nobis profutura, nisi solito velocius res geratur."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 805.

particulars of the plan for releasing the Queen of Scots from captivity. Affairs having taken this turn, James did not hesitate to abandon altogether the cause of his unfortunate mother, and to throw himself into the arms of the English monarch. Unhappily for Mary's hopes, the King of France, in spite of his near connection with her, was far from favourable to the schemes entertained for her liberation. He had as little love for the King of Spain as he had for the Duke of Guise; and the plan for marrying James to the daughter of the latter met with his uncompromising opposition. He went so far as to direct his ambassador in England to inform the Queen of Scots that he would henceforth take no steps whatever on her behalf.[1]

The king abandons his mother's cause.

Queen Mary herself, who was at this time confined at Sheffield, appears, in spite of every difficulty, to have cherished the belief that the hour of her deliverance was really at hand; nor does she seem to have anticipated that her rival would profit by the information she had acquired in order to aggravate the rigour of her victim's captivity and hurry on the day of her destruction. In the letters written by Mary to Dr Allen, from Sheffield in March 1584, and again six months later from Wingfield, we see her urging on the speedy despatch of the Spanish expedition, and the payment to her son of the

Hopes entertained by Queen Mary.

[1] *Memoires de Castelnau* (Brussels, 1731), tom. i. p. 595.

sum of money that had been promised to him.[1] Allen, in consequence, writing to the nuncio at Paris, entered into some detail as to the proposed plan of operations. He referred at the same time to the little confidence felt by Catholics in the King of Scots, who at heart acknowledged neither the Church nor the Pope, and could not be expected to draw his sword with much enthusiasm in the cause of religion.[2] It was thought that he was more likely to unite himself to the French king, whose policy was, as we have seen, entirely opposed to that of the friends of Queen Mary. It was apparently with a view to confirm, if possible, the royal waverer, as well as to comply with the wishes of the queen, that Archbishop Beaton begged the Pope, in June 1584, to direct the nuncio at Paris to see that the sum due to the king, who had only received part of what had been promised, should be paid over to him as soon as possible.[3]

The pseudo-envoy from Scotland.

Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth, having learned the nature of the project in her rival's favour, naturally spared no pains in order to thwart it. With this object she conceived the idea of sending to Paris an agent of her own, who, under the

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 599, 600.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 601. "Hanc dubitationem augebunt varia hominum judicia de Rege Scotorum, quem suspicabuntur forsan nec militaturum religioni Catholicæ, quam non agnoscit vel curat, nec Papæ, quem non agnoscit superiorem."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 602.

fictitious name of John Stuart, and in the character of an envoy from the King of Scots, should insinuate himself into the confidence of Bishop Leslie, Archbishop Beaton, the Duke of Guise, and the Papal nuncio, and having consulted with them as to the proposed expedition, should then repair to Rome to lay the matter before the Pope. In order to prevent any doubt as to his character, the emissary was furnished with credentials in the name of King James, who is made to profess his joy at finding himself at length in the full light of truth, offers his homage to the Holy Father through his ambassador, and begs that the latter may be admitted to the Pope's entire confidence.[1] The supposed envoy was further provided with a letter of instructions, detailing the matters which he was charged to bring before his Holiness. In particular he is to beg counsel of the Pope how the realm may best be recovered to the true faith without shedding of blood; and he is specially to entreat that secrecy may be observed as to the object of his embassy; for if the Queen of England knew of his mission to Rome, the result would inevitably be a declaration of war with Scotland, with all its attendant miseries.

[1] The forged credentials are dated from Edinburgh, March 10, 1584, and commence thus: "Sanctissime Pater: Non possum literis exprimere, quanto lætitia afficiar, quod cognita veritate, ac tenebris expulsis, sanæ menti restitutus sim: cujus rei post Deum Optimum Maximum auctor nobis ex parte fuit vir illustris, et consanguineus noster carissimus Joannes Stuardus, quem idcirco ad Sanctitatem Vestram misimus."—Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 600.

His successful imposture.

The pseudo-ambassador of King James arrived safely in Paris, where he played his part with complete success. He was not long in gaining the good offices of the Jesuit fathers, with whom he piously spent the days of Holy Week.[1] He was in constant communication with Lord Seton, the Duke of Guise, and the nuncio (Ragazzoni, Bishop of Bergamo), all of whom he delighted with the favourable news he professed to bring from Scotland, more particularly with regard to the decided leanings of the young king towards the Catholic faith, and the great hopes there were of his speedy reconciliation to the Church. So entirely successful was he in blinding even the cautious and far-sighted Archbishop Beaton to his true character, that the latter wrote exultingly to the Pope on April 16, 1584, assuring him that the Catholic cause in Scotland was all but won, and urging him at once to nominate some one to head the proposed expedition in his name and with his authority.[2]

Discovery of his real character in Rome.

The English agent in due time made his way to Rome; but fortunately the Pontiff was not so easily duped as others had been before him. Suspicion was aroused as to the true character of the envoy: the imposture was discovered, and he was expelled from Rome. The nuncio in Paris

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 805. The French nuncio to the Cardinal-Secretary, April 2, 1584. "Visitai l'Ambasciatore nuovo di Scotia, et feci seco li debiti complimenti: il quale Ambasciatore ha fatto li giorni molto cattolicamente santi con li Padri Jesuiti."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 603.

was instructed to warn the Catholics in that city to show themselves more circumspect in future; and the Pope himself advised the King of France and the Duke of Guise to the same effect. Lord Seton wrote on July 9th to the Cardinal-Secretary, asking for further details as to the imposture, and stating his belief that the affair had been contrived by the English Privy Council with the object of working the destruction of the king and the Scottish Catholics.[1] Elizabeth, seeing her plans thus frustrated, was more incensed than ever against the Catholics. A certain Dr William Parry, a convert to Catholicism, who was on intimate terms with the English and Scottish Catholics in Paris, was arrested on a trumped-up charge of treason, and forced to confess under torture the existence of an alleged plot against Elizabeth's life. The queen took advantage of this to redouble the persecution of the Catholics, on the ground that they were in league to kill her. It must be remembered that the conspiracy of Babington was as yet unthought of, while the project to assassinate Elizabeth, in which the Duke of Guise had been concerned, had, as we have seen, been definitely abandoned some time before.[2] Queen Elizabeth's own subjects, on the other hand, were more than suspected at this time, as Archbishop Beaton reported to the French nuncio, of plotting against the life of the King of Scots.[3]

Elizabeth's anger at the failure of her scheme.

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 604.

[2] See *ante*, p. 275.

[3] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. p. 816. "Il Conte Huntingdon,

Collapse of the Spanish expedition.

The long-talked-of plan of the Spanish expedition had now, as it seemed, fallen to the ground. Large sums had already been expended in connection with it. The Pope had contributed four thousand *scudi,* and the King of Spain eleven thousand, of which varying amounts had been paid to Lennox, Seton, Crawford, Fintry, Gray, and others—some true friends of the cause of the Queen of Scots, others her bitter, though disguised, enemies. The only apparent result of the prolonged negotiations and deep-laid schemes had been to increase the hatred entertained by Elizabeth for the Catholic cause, and finally to alienate the King of Scots from the friends of his unfortunate mother. It is strange that under such circumstances the Bishop of Ross should have projected a journey to Scotland, on the ground that the dispositions of the young king seemed to hold out a favourable prospect for Catholicism in that country. Such, however, was the motive which he set forth in letters to the Pope and the Cardinal-Secretary, dated February 10 and 17, 1585, when writing to ask for a subsidy in aid of the expenses of his proposed journey.[1]

Situation of the Queen of Scots.

Meanwhile the condition of the unhappy Queen of Scots in her English prison was becoming daily

governatore delle parti boreali di Inghilterra, sta parimenti nelle confini, di modo che pensano di togliere via presto il Rè di Scotia, o per corruttione delli suoi, o per veleno et arti, o ben per forza, se Iddio Signore nostro non l'ajuti."

[1] Theiner, *Annal.*, tom. iii. pp. 635-637.

more intolerable. A detailed narrative of the last months of her eventful career would be outside the scope of the present work; but some account cannot be omitted of the closing scenes in the life of one who died, as she had lived, an unfaltering witness to the truths of the Catholic faith.

Poulet appointed as her keeper.

In April 1585, Queen Elizabeth appointed Sir Amias Poulet, her former ambassador in Paris, and a bitter Puritan, as keeper of the Scottish Queen.[1] Mary protested against the appointment of one who, when in France, had shown himself her most determined enemy; but the only satisfaction that she received was a harsh letter from Elizabeth, implying that she had only herself to blame for Poulet's alleged hostility to her.[2] It was not long before the queen was made to feel the iron hand of her new jailer. Among other restrictions, she was forbidden to give alms to the poor;[3] and Poulet openly declared that his prisoner's life should at once pay the forfeit of any attempt at rescue.[4] It need not surprise us that

[1] Hosack (*Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 325) pithily describes Poulet as "a Puritan in his religion, and a bear in his manners and conversation."

[2] Morris, *Letter-books of Sir Amias Poulet*, p. 6.

[3] "Vous en ferez, s'il vous plest," Mary wrote to Castelnau, "remonstrance de ma part à la dicte Royne, ma bonne sœur, pour la prier de faire commander au sieur Poulet de ne m'user de ceste facon, n'y ayant si pauvre vil et abject criminel et prisonnier à qui ceste permission soit jamais par aulcune loy desnyée."—Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 173.

[4] *Letter-books*, p. 49. Sir Ralph Sadler had previously given the

a man who felt himself secure in making such a threat was capable at the same time of descending to a discussion with the Secretary of State, as to whether the queen should be permitted to talk with her washerwomen, through whom she was suspected of communicating with the outer world.[1]

Hardships of her position.

The wretched accommodation provided for her, combined with the mental troubles and anxieties of her position, had severely tried the health of the royal captive. She complained frequently of the cold and dampness of her chamber, and in one of her letters to the French ambassador assured him that she did not expect to survive the winter if compelled to remain at Tutbury.[2] It was not, however, until Christmas Eve that she was at length removed to the Castle of Chartley, in the same county.

Mary's sentiments towards Elizabeth.

In spite of all that had passed, we have abundant evidence that Mary still retained a feeling of regard—nay, strange as it may appear, of positive affection—for her "good sister" of England, who on her part reciprocated the sentiments of her kinswoman only by her unceasing intrigues

same undertaking, declaring that in case of any attempt at escape "the queen's body should first have tasted of the gall" (*State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 338).—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Letter-books*, p. 51.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 87. Cf. Labanoff, *op. cit.*, tom. vi. p. 201. "Je suis icy si mal accomodée en ces deux méchantes petites chambres, que je ne puis rester l'hyver sans très grand hazard de ma vye."

against her. Elizabeth wrote but seldom to her injured cousin, and her letters were, as a rule, little calculated to cheer or console her. One letter, however, in a different strain, she addressed to Mary in August 1585,—the last communication that passed between them until the Queen of Scots was called upon to plead before her judges at Fotheringay. It is touching to observe how the hapless Mary welcomed any sign of sympathy on the part of her rival. "I have received letters," she wrote to De Mauvissière, the French ambassador in London, "from the Queen of England, my good sister, full of much courtesy and demonstrations of goodwill, that I must needs tell you that for four months I have not felt such consolation, both of body and soul, in my misfortunes."[1]

In Mauvissière Mary possessed a genuine friend, who warmly espoused her cause at the English Court. Yet the very intimacy that existed between them only served to aggravate the dangers that beset the unfortunate queen. For behind the back of his unconscious chief, Chérelles, the secretary of the French embassy, was base enough to send to Walsingham copies of all Mary's letters from Tutbury. We know, from the traitor's own words, that he was well aware of the disgraceful nature of his action. "I humbly entreat you," he wrote to Walsingham, "to keep all this as secret

Treachery of Chérelles.

[1] Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, tom. vi. pp. 211, 212.

as possible, that the ambassador may know nothing of it; for I would not for all the gold in the world be discovered, by reason of the shame that would fall on me — and not shame only, but I should lose my life as well; for which, indeed, I would care little in comparison with the aforesaid shame, for one must die after all."[1] Froude, in his implacable enmity to the Queen of Scots, has no word of blame for this treacherous miscreant. Walsingham, he coolly remarks, "felt it imperatively necessary to obtain a clue to the Catholic secrets, on which he knew he could depend."[2] It is impossible, however, for the impartial historian to do otherwise than condemn the unworthy means which he employed to gain his purpose.

New restrictions imposed on Mary.

While preparations were still going on for the removal of Queen Mary to her new place of confinement, Elizabeth was pleased to place still greater restraint than heretofore on her prisoner's communications with her friends in France. "Sir Amias Poulet," wrote Walsingham, in September 1585, "is to understand that all the packets that she doth hereafter send into France must be directed unto me, and not unto the new French ambassador; for that her Majesty's meaning is, that he shall not have anything to do with the conveyance of her letters into France, having also given order unto the Bishop of Glasgow that such

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, 1582, f. 311. (*Letter-books*, p. 86.)
[2] *Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 106.

letters as he shall send from thence shall be delivered unto Mr Stafford." This new infringement of her liberty was, it need hardly be said, a source of the deepest mortification to the imprisoned queen; and Poulet professed himself unable adequately to describe the emotion she evinced on being informed of it. "She could now see plainly," she declared, "that her destruction was sought, and that her life shall be taken from her one of these days; and then it shall be said that she was sickly, and that she died of some sickness. She took it between her and conscience that she believed this constantly, and would do her best that all others should also believe it; that when she was at the lowest, her heart was greatest, and therefore, now looking for no other than all extremity, she would not fail to urge her enemies to do the worst they could."[1] While thus every precaution was taken, on the one hand, that Mary's private correspondence should fall into the hands of her bitterest foes, Poulet was able, on the other, to write, a few months later, from Chartley, that he took God to witness that he could not imagine it possible for any of the queen's train to convey to her a bit of paper as big as his finger.[2]

Her mortification.

Origin of the Babington plot.

In a letter addressed to Poulet in September 1585, Queen Elizabeth inveighed bitterly against

[1] *Letter-books*, pp. 93, 96.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 124. Poulet to Walsingham, January 10, 1586.

Mary's agent in Paris, who was employed there in the management of her property, and declared him guilty of designs against her life. The mention of this individual, whose name was Thomas Morgan, brings us to the consideration of the diabolical scheme that was concocted in the course of the following year, in order to compass the destruction of the Scottish queen. No measures, it is true, were taken against her directly and personally; but nevertheless, from the time when the last negotiations between Mary and the English agent failed, and when her claims, reduced to a minimum as they were, were repudiated by the English Court, her fate was already sealed. The freedom which she so earnestly besought was denied her; nor, perhaps, can we wonder at this, for it was not unnaturally feared that the liberation of one who exercised a kind of enchantment over all who came in contact with her, would only accelerate the threatened Spanish invasion of England. However, it was now thought to be time to bring matters to a crisis; and, innocent or guilty, Mary must be made to appear the sole cause of her own downfall. A plot, which—if we are to believe the testimony of persons well qualified to judge—was either actually contrived by Walsingham himself, or was at least utilised by him for his own ends, and which aimed at the death of Elizabeth as well as the liberation of her rival, was communicated to the Queen of Scots;

and in a letter, in which no impartial person can fail to detect the existence of forged and interpolated passages, she was alleged to have given her approval to both schemes. As a matter of fact, Mary's original letter sanctioned only so much of the plan as was concerned with setting her free from the intolerable bondage in which she was languishing. Not only did she solemnly deny before her judges, to the last, that she had ever written the words attributed to her, but the passages in question bear on their very face the proofs of their own spuriousness.[1]

Walsingham the real author of the conspiracy.

The most recent and careful researches with regard to the Babington conspiracy leave little room to doubt that the real authorship of the plot must be attributed to Walsingham, Elizabeth's astute secretary, and Mary's bitterest foe. The instrument he made use of was a young man named Gilbert Gifford, who was bound to the powerful minister by the most intimate ties, and in a matter of such moment would certainly not have acted without the connivance and support of his patron. Gifford came of a good Catholic family in Staffordshire; his father had been imprisoned for the faith, and his elder brother held a post at the English Court. The Douai Diaries record that, in the year 1582, "William Gifford arrived at Douai from Rome, to teach theology, and with him Gil-

Gilbert Gifford.

[1] An exhaustive discussion of the whole question will be found in Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. pp. 359-374.

bert Gifford [his nephew], who commenced to teach logic and philosophy."[1] Unfortunately the young cleric, during his residence at Rome, had been led astray, as we learn from the records of the English college, by one Solomon Aldred—a creature of Walsingham, who lived in Rome, and made it his task to effect the perversion of the English students. Gifford soon lost his former exemplary character, and the result was that he brought upon himself a sentence of expulsion. He remained, however, for a time at Rome, afterwards becoming, as we have mentioned, professor of philosophy at Douai. In March 1585, he was ordained subdeacon at Rheims, and a fortnight later deacon, by the Cardinal of Guise.[2] On March 14, 1587, little more than a month after his work of treachery had been crowned by the execution of the hapless Queen of Scots, Gifford was ordained to the priesthood.[3] He had spent the two previous years partly in France, where he contrived to insinuate himself into the confidence of Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris, and partly in England, working out Walsingham's deep-laid schemes either in London or at Chartley. On the

His expulsion from the English college at Rome.

His ordination.

[1] Father Morris (*Letter-books*, p. 380) states that this is the earliest record we have of Gilbert Gifford. The Second Douai Diary, however (Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 114), contains this entry, under Jan. 31, 1577: "Gilbertus Giffordus clarus adolescens, prius ad aliquot menses in collegio Aquicinctensi convictor, ad nostra communia est admissus."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Knox, *Records of the Engl. Cath.* (Douai Diaries), pp. 204, 205.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

eve of the discovery of the Babington plot, he quitted England, but only to bring still greater discredit on himself and his sacred profession in France. He was committed to prison by the Vicar-General of Paris, on account of his misdemeanours; but even from his cell he contrived to communicate with his patron in England, under the pseudonym of Francis Hartley. Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, summed up the character of Gifford in a few words, written in December 1587: "In this time he hath showed himself the most notable double-treble villain that ever lived, for he hath played upon all the hands in the world."[1] And his father, John Gifford, writing to Phelippes, thus expressed himself;[2] "I have written to my unfortunate son. I would God he had never been born. I may well say, Happy is the barren, that hath no child."[3]

Contemporary estimates of his character.

Thomas Phelippes, to whom the words just quoted were addressed, was the agent employed by Walsingham to decipher Queen Mary's intercepted letters, for which service he was rewarded by Elizabeth with a pension. The intermediary between the queen and Gifford was a brewer of Burton, who appears in Poulet's correspondence under the ironical title of the "honest man," and who supplied every week to Chartley a certain quantity of beer.

Phelippes, the decipherer.

[1] *State Papers* (Domestic), Addenda, Elizabeth, vol. xxx., No. 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xix., No. 101. (Both cited in *Letter-books*, pp. 383, 390.)

[3] Gifford died in prison. See *Memorial to Archduke Ernest* (Knox,

The cask despatched to the royal household (which numbered some thirty persons) was constructed with a false bottom, into which fitted a small box. By this contrivance the queen's letters were, of course with her full knowledge, conveyed out of the castle, and placed by the "honest man" in the hands of Gifford, in whose honour Mary placed implicit reliance. The traitor instantly forwarded them to Walsingham, who caused them to be deciphered by Phelippes. Another of his creatures, named Gregory, was exclusively employed in the delicate duty of opening and resealing the documents, which were afterwards delivered to their destination, or detained, as the secretary saw fit. Poulet was, of course, privy to the whole proceeding; and the chain of treachery round the unfortunate queen was thus complete. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of Morgan, who, in October 1585, had written to his mistress recommending Gifford as a friend on whom she could rely;[1] but from the moment that Mary gave him her confidence, as she did in consequence of her agent's letter, it may be said that her fate was sealed.

Gregory, the sealer.

It is difficult to imagine anything more pitiable than the condition of the Scottish queen at this

Deplorable position of the Queen of Scots.

op. cit., p. 404). "Uno dellos, Gilberto Giffordo, murió en la carcel de Paris." Cf. Camden (*Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 411). "In carcerem ob vitæ turpitudinem conjectus, misere expiravit."—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Morgan's letter to the queen is printed in the *Letter-books*, pp. 112 *et seq.*

critical time. For eighteen years she had been languishing in close confinement, and a final and overwhelming blow had just been dealt her by the abandonment of her cause by her unworthy son.[1] Vain, indeed, had proved the hopes with which she had first sought a refuge on the soil of England. Hurried from prison to prison,—from Carlisle to Bolton, and thence in succession to Ripon, Chatsworth, Sheffield, Tutbury, and Chartley; lodged in damp unwholesome chambers, and deprived of almost everything that could minister to her comfort,—we cannot wonder that, in the desperate condition to which she was reduced, she should have stretched out her hand to any plank of refuge that seemed within her reach. And such now seemed to offer itself in the enterprise undertaken by the ill-fated Anthony Babington. Little more than a youth, and burning with an enthusiastic admiration and pity for the unhappy prisoner at Chartley, Babington was without much difficulty induced to plan the assassination of Elizabeth, and the deliverance of her helpless captive. Among his accomplices were an English priest named Ballard, John Savage, a military adventurer, and two creatures of Walsingham, named Maude and Pooley, who of course kept their em-

Anthony Babington.

[1] "Cette maudite lettre" [Babington's to the queen], wrote Nau, "vint à la malheure sur le très grief ressentiment que la dite Royne d'Escosse avoit de se voir séparée du roy son fils."—Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, tom. vii. p. 208. James had just concluded a treaty with the Queen of England.—TRANSLATOR.

ployer informed of every particular connected with the progress of the plot.[1] The one object of the wily minister was to contrive to implicate Mary in the conspiracy against the life of the English queen: her complicity in this crime once established, Elizabeth would of course find herself abundantly justified in taking steps to rid the world of her detested rival.

Ramifications of the conspiracy.

It must not be forgotten that what is known as the Babington plot comprised a number of schemes, not identical, or even necessarily connected with each other. The Spanish invasion, the rising of the Catholics of the North of England, and the liberation of the imprisoned queen, were enterprises essentially distinct from the projected assassination of Elizabeth. The plan of the Spanish invasion had long been resolved on by the adherents of Mary, although its execution had been delayed by the prudence of the Prince of Parma, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who was too good a soldier to venture rashly on such an undertaking. But the general principle of the scheme had long been accepted and approved. Mary herself had unquestionably sanctioned a project which, as she believed, offered the only chance for her deliverance.[2] To so much

Extent of Mary's complicity in it.

[1] Camden (*Annales*, p. 406) tells us that the infatuated Babington actually had a picture painted with portraits of the six conspirators, including himself in a prominent position as their chief.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] "I shall always esteem for me no small happiness," she wrote to

of the conspiracy she was undoubtedly a party; what she denied, and continued to deny to the last, was her alleged complicity in that part of the plot which was directed at the life of the English queen.

Babington's letter to Mary.

Babington's letter, communicating to Queen Mary the various schemes which we have mentioned, reached her about the 12th of July. The following passage occurs towards its conclusion: "Myself, with ten gentlemen of quality and an hundred followers, will undertake the delivery of your person from the hands of your enemies; and for the despatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom by the excommunication of her we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear the Catholic cause and your Majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution." Babington thus undertakes, with ten gentlemen and a hundred followers, to secure the liberation of the queen, which in another passage of his letter he declares to be the main object of the whole plot. Who, then, were the six noblemen to whom, as he asserts in the same breath, was to be intrusted the assassination of Elizabeth? Babington himself was one of the six—nay, their acknowledged leader. How could he be engaged

Difficulties in the way of its authenticity.

Father Persons, May 20, 1586, "to concur in an action so important for the weal and common quieting of all Christendom, with a prince so meet in all respects for effecting of the same as I see he [Parma] is."—Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 335.—TRANSLATOR.

at the same moment in two totally different tasks in London and at Chartley? The passage, as it stands, is utterly self-contradictory; but if we suppose the words relating to the murder of Elizabeth to have been interpolated, it becomes intelligible enough. It must be remembered that there is no proof whatever of the genuineness of the letter. It was a copy, not the alleged original, that was afterwards produced in evidence against the queen. The original had been, like all Mary's correspondence, intercepted by Gifford, opened by Gregory, and deciphered by Phelippes—all three "honest men" in the same sense as that term was applied to the brewer of Burton. What more probable than that to their ingenuity, rather than to the original writer of the letter, are to be ascribed the words which fall in so uneasily with their context, and were yet all-important for the purpose of the contrivers of the plot?

Importance attached by Walsingham to the affair.

Phelippes was appointed to carry Babington's letter to its destination, and he left London for Chartley on the 7th of July. The great importance attached to the affair, and to Mary's expected answer, is shown by the mysterious and significant letter addressed on the same day by Walsingham to Leicester. "I have acquainted this gentleman" [Phelippes], he wrote, "with the secret, to the end he may impart the same unto your lordship. I dare make none of my servants here privy thereunto. My only fear is that her

Majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy that appertains, though it imports as greatly as ever anything did since she came to this crown; and surely if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her Majesty's reign. I pray your lordship make this letter an heretic after you have read the same. I mean, when this matter is grown to full ripeness, to send some confidential person unto you to acquaint you fully with the matter."[1]

Interview between Gifford and Ballard.

Walsingham was well aware that Mary's written sanction to the plot was absolutely essential to the success of his schemes. Two days after Babington's letter had been despatched, Gifford wrote to the secretary, describing an interview he had just had with Ballard. "I asked him," said Gifford, "what was to be done on our parts. He replied that I must needs obtain of [the queen] her hand and seal, to allow of all that should be practised for her behalf, without the which, said he, we labour in vain. . . . What your honour thinketh good I shall answer him I desire to be informed, and how far I shall join with him and keep him company."[2] No reliance whatever can be placed on Gifford's statements; and it is not improbable that he may have himself invented this supposed interview with Ballard, who would seem, as we

[1] *Leicester Correspondence* (ed. Bruce), p. 342. See also Introduction, p. 37.

[2] *Letter-books*, pp. 221, 222.

know from other sources, to have by this time repented of his share in the plot.[1] Gifford's letter to Walsingham, however, clearly shows that the secretary was perfectly cognisant of, if not primarily responsible for, the fraudulent means by which Mary's implication in the guilt of the conspiracy was to be secured.

The Queen of Scots duly received Babington's letter, which she acknowledged next day through her secretary Nau, adding that an answer would be sent in a few days. "We attend her very heart at the next," wrote Phelippes triumphantly to Walsingham. "She begins to recover health and strength, and did ride abroad in her coach yesterday. I had a smiling countenance, but I thought of the verse, 'Cum tibi dicit Ave, sicut ab hoste cave.' I hope by the next to send your honour better matter."[2] On the same day Poulet wrote to the secretary, "I cannot thank you enough for your messenger, my old good friend Mr Phelippes."

Phelippes at Chartley.

On the 17th of July, Mary addressed to Bab-

The queen's reply to Babington.

[1] "Ballard," writes Labanoff (*Châteauneuf's Memoir*, tom. vi. p. 288), "avait autrefois servi d'espion à Walsingham contre les Catholiques, et depuis, reconnaissant sa faute, s'était du tout départi de son accointance, ainsi que l'on disait."

[2] Mary herself describes the impression—not a very favourable one—which had been made on her by the stranger she met during one of her drives. "He was," she wrote to Morgan, "of low stature, with dark-yellow hair, and beard of lighter colour, with a downcast look, marked with the small-pocks, and about thirty years of age." See Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 357.—Translator.

ington the long letter (written in cipher by Curle, her second secretary) which was afterwards produced in evidence against her at Fotheringay. The reader must bear in mind what was the condition of the unfortunate queen at the time she wrote this letter. Added to the other hardships of her situation, already wellnigh intolerable, there had just been added the crushing grief which was caused her by the conduct of her unnatural son. James had coolly informed her that, in view of the fact that she was detained prisoner out of Scotland, he could no longer continue to share with her the crown of that kingdom, or to regard her in any other light than as the queen-mother.[1] Mary, who never to her latest breath renounced what she believed to be her indefeasible right to the title of Queen of Scots, was bitterly wounded by her son's words. "Suffer no one," she wrote to the French ambassador, "to transform me from a true queen into a queen-mother; for I acknowledge no such title." Destitute of all earthly means, and with nothing before her save the prospect of a life-long prison or a speedy and violent death, who can wonder if Mary grasped at the only means held out to her of escape from so terrible a fate? Nay, had she even connived, as her enemies maintained, at the projected assassination of her rival, there have not been wanting distinguished authorities to maintain that she

Defection of James from her cause.

[1] Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 367.

would have been justified by circumstances in so doing. "Babington's conspiracy," observes Lord Brougham, "included rebellion, and also the assassination of Elizabeth; and great, and certainly very fruitless pains are taken by Mary's partisans to rebut the proofs of her having joined it. She indeed never pretended to resist the proof that she was a party to the conspiracy in general; she only denied her knowledge of the projected assassination. But supposing her to have been also cognisant of that, it seems not too relaxed a view to hold that one sovereign princess, detained unjustifiably in captivity by another for twenty years, has a right to use even extreme measures of revenge. In self-defence all means are justifiable, and Mary had no other means than war to the knife against her oppressor." [1]

Arguments against the authenticity of Mary's reply.

It is unnecessary to enter into the question as to whether the Scottish queen would have been warranted in consenting to a project of whose very existence she was in all probability ignorant. The more than questionable character of such passages in Babington's letter as bore upon the intended assassination has already been pointed out. It need only be added here that the spuriousness of similar passages in the queen's reply rests upon even clearer evidence, both external and internal. One illustration will be sufficient. Mary's letter, after giving the most elaborate

[1] Cited by Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 374, note.

instructions that Elizabeth's death is to be the first act of the conspirators, who are immediately to announce to her the completion of the deed, goes on to direct that on her liberation she is at once to be placed in the midst of a powerful army. "For," she adds, "it were sufficient cause given to the queen"—who, it must be remembered, is supposed to be already killed — "in catching me again, to inclose me in some hold, out of which I should never escape." That the most accomplished letter-writer of the age should have penned such utter nonsense as this is simply incredible; and the only possible conclusion is that, in her letter, as in Babington's, the passages referring to her rival's death were interpolated by her enemies, in order to implicate her in a crime of which she was wholly innocent.[1]

The closing scene.

We can only briefly touch on the closing incidents of the tragedy. Carried from Chartley to Tixall, back to Chartley, and finally to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, Mary was brought to trial in the latter place on October 14, 1586, charged with conspiring against the life of the Queen of England. Copies of Babington's letter to her, and of her alleged reply, were read, and Mary then solemnly denied having either received or written any such words as

[1] The whole question of the authenticity of the letters is exhaustively discussed by Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. pp. 348-374. The present author has discussed the same subject in *Scheeben's Periodischen Blättern*, 1874, pp. 433-461 and 489-506.

were brought in evidence against her. Not a single witness, nor a single original document, were produced in support of the accusations; and this mockery of justice ended by the prisoner being found guilty of the charge, Lord Zouch alone dissenting from the other judges. Poulet, tyrant and fanatic as he was, had yet the manhood to refuse compliance with the diabolical suggestion of his mistress—who desired to escape the odium which her kinswoman's execution would entail upon her—that he should privately assassinate his prisoner.[1] Elizabeth finally subscribed the death-warrant, and its execution was fixed for the 8th of February 1587. A few hours' notice was all that was allowed the royal captive; but it did not find her unprepared. She passed her last night chiefly in prayer, and on the morning of her death expressed, in some touching Latin lines, the unshaken faith which sustained her to the last.[2] The external consolations of her religion were denied to her; for one of her jailer's last acts of tyranny had been to deprive her of

Condemnation of Mary.

Elizabeth's plan for her assassination.

Her last hours.

[1] *Letter-books*, pp. 358-362. Hosack, *op. cit.*, pp. 351, 452 note, and 454-456.

[2] "O Domine Deus, speravi in Te,
O care mi Jesu, nunc libera me.
In dura catena, in misera pœna, desidero Te.
Languendo, dolendo, et genuflectendo
Adoro, imploro, ut liberes me."

"O Lord my God, I have hopèd in Thee,
O Jesu, beloved, now liberate me!
In hardest of chains, in pitiful pains, I'm longing for Thee!
I languish in anguish on bended knee:
Adoring, imploring Thee, liberate me!"—TRANSLATOR.

Her chaplain dismissed.

her faithful chaplain; nor was he even permitted to attend his mistress to the scaffold.[1]

Execution of Queen Mary, Feb. 8, 1587.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 8th of February, Mary mounted the fatal platform with unfaltering step. Turning a deaf ear to the importunities of the Dean of Peterborough, who was permitted to insult her even at this supreme moment by his ill-timed harangues, she knelt and prayed aloud for some time with fervour and devotion. Amid the sobs of the spectators, she put off her outer robe, and, kneeling at the block, commended her soul to God. Another instant, and the head of Mary Stuart rolled on the scaffold. Poulet, ruffian to the last, refused to her ladies even the poor satisfaction of unrobing the disfigured corpse of their mistress, bidding the executioner perform that duty.[2] All that the queen wore was strictly ordered to be burnt, lest anything should be retained or sold as relics. The fear was not unfounded. The beautiful rosary which Mary carried by her side on that fatal morning has been preserved with jealous care, and is now in the worthy custody of the Duke of Norfolk. The white veil which covered

[1] On the eve of her death Mary wrote to Du Préau, her almoner: "J'ay requis de vous avoir pour faire ma confession et recevoir mon sacrement, ce qui m'a esté cruellement refusé."—(Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres*, vol. vi. p. 483.)

[2] "Ce maudict et espouventable Cerbere," wrote Blackwood in his *Martyre de Marie Stuart* (Jebb, vol. ii. p. 309), "renvoya les demoiselles fort lourdement, leur commandant de sortir de la salle. Cependant le bourreau la dechausse, et la manie à sa discretion."

her head came ultimately into the possession of Cardinal York, the last of the royal line of Stuart, who bequeathed it to Sir John Hippisley. A silken border surrounds it, with the following inscription in golden letters: "Velum Sereniss. Mariæ Scot. et Gall. Regin. et Mart., quo induebatur, dum ab hæret. ad mort. injustiss. condemnata fuit, anno sal. MDLXXXVI., a nobiliss. Matrona anglica diu religiose conservatum, et tandem devot. ergo Deo et Societ. Jesu consecratum."[1]

Exceptional interest of her life.

Thus ended the career of Mary Queen of Scots. A life shadowed by so many sorrows, and checkered by so many strange and striking episodes as was hers, offers to the historian a field of research whose interest cannot be exaggerated, and can never be exhausted. The philosopher may admire, and with justice, the undaunted courage which never abandoned her; but the Christian will prefer to regard her as a heroine of faith, whose undeviating constancy to the religion of her fathers showed how deeply she was penetrated by the spirit of the motto which she had long ago adopted as her own.[2]. It was no mere rhetorical phrase, but the simple

[1] Alfred von Reumont, *Die Gräfin von Albany*, tom. ii. p. 361.

[2] The motto in question—*En ma fin est ma commencement*, "In my end is my beginning"—had been embroidered by command of Mary on her canopied chair of state at Holyrood, and again in her prison at Tutbury. "Chosen for her warning in the days of her prosperity," writes Miss Strickland (*Queens of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 354), "she readopted it in the season of her adversity as her consolation."—TRANSLATOR.

truth, that was uttered by Renaud de Beaune, the eloquent archbishop of Bourges, when, in his funeral oration on the Scottish queen in the cathedral of Notre Dame, he declared that she was found guilty of no other crime than that of being a Catholic.[1] The great Pontiff Benedict XIV. expressed, as is well known, his undoubted opinion that if the whole circumstances of Mary's death were carefully examined, "there would lack nothing in the argument necessary to establish the existence of true martyrdom."[2] And Bishop Challoner adds his testimony that, "as her constancy in the Catholic religion was the chief cause of her death, whatever might otherwise be pretended, so is she usually reckoned amongst those who suffered for religion."[3]

[1] *Oraison funèbre de Marie, royne d'Escosse*, Paris, 1588. "Marie accusée, accusée de quel crime! accusée d'estre catholique! Heureux crime! desirable accusation!"

[2] *De Canoniz. Sanctorum*, lib. iii. c. 13, No. 10. To the utterance of Benedict XIV. may fitly be joined that of the illustrious and persecuted Pius VI., who, in his allocution on the death of Louis XVI. of France, cited the opinion of his predecessor in support of Mary's claims to be considered a true martyr to religion.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and Catholics of both Sexes* (ed. 1878), p. 127.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY TO THE UNION (1587-1603).

James VI. and Mary Queen of Scots.

THE conduct of King James, throughout the course of the events which ended in the death of his unfortunate mother, can only be characterised as altogether unworthy of a son. Soon after the discovery of the Babington plot, he had been informed of it by Walsingham, and had written to Elizabeth congratulating her upon the conspiracy having come to light.[1] Walsingham at the same time directed the Master of Gray, who was one of Mary's bitterest enemies, to represent to the young king that any attempt on his part at intervention on the queen's behalf would ill become one whose father had received such evil treatment at her hands.[2] In order still further

[1] Tytler, *Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 146. A contemporary document relating to James, preserved in the Corsini Library at Rome, has the following passage: "Primamente con la Regina d'Inghilterra non havendo mai dimostrato sdegno con di lei per la morte violenta di sua madre, anzi scusatosi che li rincresceva infinitamente che ella gli havesse dato occasione di risenimento."

[2] *Papers relating to the Master of Gray*, p. 110. Randolph wrote to Archibald Douglas in August 1585, that, by way of reconciling the young king to his mother's position, two huntsmen had just

to blunt his feelings of natural affection, copies were sent to him of the correspondence of the conspirators, including the pretended letters of Mary, in which she advised Lord Claud Hamilton to place her son under temporary restraint. The perusal of these documents naturally did not tend to increase the filial sentiments of James towards his mother. De Courcelles, the French ambassador, who had received instructions to endeavour to induce the king to interfere on Mary's behalf, was met by the cool response that she was in no immediate danger, and "must be content to drink the ale that she had brewed." He bore as much love towards her, he added, as nature and duty required, but he was well aware that she had as little goodwill for him as for Elizabeth herself. Her conduct had already almost cost him his crown; and he would be well content if she occupied herself with nothing but prayer and the service of God.[1] Viewed in the light of these sentiments, it must be feared that the favour which, according to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, James was at this very time showing towards his Catholic subjects, was dictated more by political than by any higher or worthier motives.[2]

been sent him from England,—"very good and skilful, with one footman that can hoop, hollow, and cry, that all the trees in Falkland will quake for fear" (Murdin, p. 558).—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Negotiations of Monsieur de Courcelles* (Bannatyne edition), p. 4 (October 4).

[2] Teulet, *Papiers d'Etat*, tom. iii. p. 516 (Bernadino de Mendoca a Felipe II., Paris, 24 Ottobre, 1586). "Y que el Rey (Jacobo VI.)

Few of the counsellors of the King of Scots were found mean enough to sympathise with the selfish sentiments of their master; and among others, the Earl of Bothwell and George Douglas (the same who had assisted Mary in her escape from Lochleven) strongly urged him to take immediate and vigorous steps on his mother's behalf.[1] Thus impelled, the king addressed to Elizabeth a letter of remonstrance, which the Master of Gray was instructed to present to her; while at the same time he directed Archibald Douglas, his ambassador in England, to make verbal representations to the same effect. Unfortunately, however, both his emissaries were numbered among Mary's most determined enemies. It was commonly said of Douglas that, as he had assisted at the father's murder, he would have his hand as deep in that of the mother;[2] and as for Gray, who arrived in London on his mission at the end of December 1586, although in his public despatches he displayed great interest in the cause of the queen,[3] yet in secret he simply co-operated with Douglas to betray it. The news

The king's remonstrance with Elizabeth.

a los Catholicos non solo les favorecia de secreto, pero holgava che le hablassen en materia de religion, lo que non hazia antes."

[1] "I think," Bothwell is said to have replied to the king's request for his advice, "that if your majesty suffer the process to proceed, you should be hanged yourself the day after."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Lodge's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 295. Master of Gray to Archibald Douglas, December 9, 1586.

[3] See Robertson, *Hist. of Scotl.*, Appendix I. A Memorial for His Majesty by the Master of Gray.

of the fatal event at Fotheringay, a few weeks later, did indeed rouse some show of indignant feeling in the young monarch's breast; but though he swore that the foul act of tyranny should not pass unrevenged, this outburst of wrath was but temporary and evanescent, and was followed by no effective result.[1] The order that he had given for public prayers to be offered in the Kirk on behalf of his unfortunate mother, can in truth be considered as little better than a mockery. As a matter of fact, the command in question was met by an absolute refusal, and strange and disedifying scenes in the churches were the natural consequence.[2]

Feeling caused in Scotland by Queen Mary's death.

The execution of Queen Mary was followed in Scotland by an immediate and widespread feeling of antagonism to the Crown and Government of England. The Scottish Catholics in particular felt, of course, in a special degree the blow which

[1] "The feelings of this prince," remarks Tytler, "were neither deep nor lasting. Even at this sad moment, selfishness and the assurance of undivided sovereignty neutralised his resentment."—*Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 159.

[2] Spottiswood (*Hist. of Church of Scotl.*, vol. ii. p. 256) relates that the king desired the bishop of St Andrews (Adamson) to conduct the service in St Giles'; but when his majesty entered the church, he found the pulpit already occupied by a probationary minister named John Cowper. "Mr John," called out the king, "that place is destined for another; yet since you are there, if you will remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on." The preacher calmly replied that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him; whereupon the captain of the guard was sent to pull him out of the pulpit, and the bishop took his place. Cowper was brought before the Council and sentenced to imprisonment.—TRANSLATOR.

had fallen on them by the violent death of a princess who had remained consistently true to the ancient faith, and in whom they had now lost their natural protector. Desirous, as it would seem, of conciliating them under these melancholy circumstances, James about this time, in spite of the opposition of the Kirk, restored the bishop of Ross—his mother's life-long friend and champion—to his former dignities, and also appointed Archbishop Beaton his ambassador in France. Almost the whole of the north of Scotland was at this time completely in the hands of the Catholic nobles, who were not much more favourably disposed towards James than towards Elizabeth herself. A paper in Lord Burghley's handwriting,[1] drawn up a few years later, gives the names and ages of the Catholic lords as follows: the Earl of Huntly, thirty-three; the Earl of Crawford, thirty-five; the Earl of Errol, thirty-one; the Earl of Montrose, forty-nine; Lord Seton, forty; Lord Livingstone, sixty-one; Lord Maxwell, forty-one; Lord Herries, thirty-seven; Lord Sanquhar, twenty-four; Lord Gray, fifty-four; Lord Ogilvy, fifty-one; Lord Fleming, twenty-five; Lord Urquhart, thirty-five.[2] Huntly was the grandson of the Earl who fell at Corrichie,

Strength of the Catholic nobility, 1589.

[1] *State Papers* (Scot.), Elizabeth, vol. xliii. No. 53. "A note of the especial particularities concerning the present estate of the nobility of Scotland" (April 10, 1589).

[2] The following noblemen were also Catholics, although they do not appear in Burghley's list: the Earls of Angus, Argyle, and

in the struggle against the ambitious Earl of Moray. He had signed the Protestant Confession, in order to avoid prosecution, but had recently declared himself a Catholic. The Earls of Errol and Crawford had also been reconciled to the Church, the former by Father Gordon, and the latter by Father Creighton.[1] This powerful party was now actively engaged in plotting a new revolution which should re-establish the Catholic religion in Scotland. Lord Maxwell[2] was on the Continent, in constant communication with Rome and Spain; Sir William Stewart, brother of the once powerful Arran, was at the headquarters of the Duke of Parma in the Low Countries; while Archibald Douglas was secretly supporting the cause in London, and the Master of Gray in France. At this critical moment there arrived at the Scottish Court Jane Kennedy, one of the ladies who had attended the Queen of Scots in her last moments. She depicted to the young king in glowing colours the sufferings of his unhappy mother, and so worked on his feelings, that for a time he seemed won over to the Catholic cause. But the fear of alienating Elizabeth, and of imperilling his chance

Vacillation of King James.

Eglinton, Lords Semple, Hume, Claud Hamilton, and James Elphinston. See Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 365 *et seq.* Argyle and Hamilton were converts.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] MSS. Brit. Mus. (Caligula), D. II. 80.

[2] This nobleman was also a convert to Catholicism, having been reconciled to the Church by Father Durie in 1585. See *post*, p. 341.—TRANSLATOR.

of succession to the English throne, proved stronger than his sentiments of filial affection; and Elizabeth's subsequent offer of an English dukedom, and an annual pension of five thousand pounds, completed the work which his own selfishness had begun.[1] Henceforth he seems to have abandoned all idea of avenging his mother's death, and to have been a consistent opponent of the Catholic party.

Further demands of the Protestant party, 1592.

The Protestant leaders and their adherents were now at length able to feel that their position in the country was more or less secure; and they were not long in taking advantage of the somewhat questionable position in which the king found himself with regard to Huntly, the chief of the Catholic nobility,[2] in order to gain further concessions in their own favour. When Parliament met in 1592, the General Assembly presented a petition to the king, requesting that the statutes passed in 1584 against the discipline of the Kirk should be repealed; that the Church property should be restored to the ministers; that prelates should not in future have power to sit and vote in Parliament; and that the land should

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. xlii. No. 108. William Asheby to Lord Burghley.

[2] Huntly had been summoned to deliver himself up to answer for his undoubted share in the murder of the young Earl of Moray, in February 1592. After a very brief investigation, he had been pardoned by the king, who thereby drew upon himself the execration of a large part of his subjects, especially the Protestants, indignant at the favour shown to the Catholic leader.—TRANSLATOR.

be purged from idolatry. The whole of these measures were not enacted by the Parliament: but a statute was passed, which is still regarded as the "charter of the liberties of the Kirk," and which formally ratified its system of government by assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and parochial sessions.[1]

The "charter of the liberties of the Kirk."

Although the virtual supremacy of Protestantism was now established in the country, the leaders of the Kirk did not discontinue their endeavours to stamp out every vestige of the old religion. The records of the General Assemblies, preserved in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, show that the Catholic reaction in Scotland, as elsewhere, was occasioning the gravest apprehensions among the Reformed clergy. "The flocking home of Jesuits and Papists,"—"the defection of the multitude from the truth,"[2]—and "the daily increase of Papistrie within the realme,"[3]— "the erection of the idolatrie of the masse in diverse quarters of the land,"[4]—were the subject of frequent recrimination in the Assembly, and were among the causes of solemn fast-days appointed by that body. In 1583 formal complaint had been made to the king that many

Alarm of the ministers at the Catholic reaction.

[1] The twentieth Act of the same Parliament repealed the commission to bishops to hear ecclesiastical causes, and directed that presentations to benefices should in future be addressed to the presbyteries, to whom full powers were given to grant collation to the same. *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. iii. pp. 541, 542.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Booke of the Universall Kirk* (ed. 1839), p. 332.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 399.

persons, "from their youth nourished in the Kirk of God, and since fearfully fallen back therefrom, and become great runagates and blasphemers of the truth, and maintainers of idolatry, and that man of sin, lieutenant of Satan," were received at Court.[1] A year previously the Assembly had urged "that such as are known to be Papists, and notwithstanding their oaths, handwritings, and outward obedience, are tried to have returned to their vomit, and made apostasy, waiting still the time and occasion to cut the throats of the godly, may be punished as traitors."[2] About the same time we find a resolution admonishing "ministers that bears with the people repairing in pilgrimage to wells hard beside their own houses, . . . and not communicating with them by the space of seven or eight years."[3] In 1586 it is stated that "Papistrie abounds in the north, by reason of the want of sufficient provision for qualified ministers."[4] Two years later the question was under discussion, "What should be the readiest way to quench the present fire of Papiscie kindled throughout all the country?"[5] and the Assembly expressed in a petition to the king their "exceeding great grief to see Jesuites, seminary priests, &c., to be suffered to pollute this land with idolatry."[6] The Catholics of the north, it is complained, "have their house mass

Resolutions of the General Assembly.

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk* (ed. 1839), p. 280. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 267.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 284. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 298. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 323. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

at their pleasure, and their publik mass erectit in the Laird of Leslie's chapell, with twa idols above the altar:"[1] "the abbacy of Dunfermline has been given to the Earl of Huntly, whereunto he and the Papists with him resorts:"[2] in Lothian, "sundry Papist priests, confessing themselves to have said masse, and preachit Papistrie, being apprehended by the Majestrats of Edinburgh, and putt in ward, are sett at libertie without any punischment or satisfaction of the Kirk:"[3] while in Stirling, mention is made of the prevalence of "superstitious ceremonies, pilgrimages, and Christ's wells, fasting, bainfyres, girdls, carrels, and sùch lyke."[4]

The policy of persecution, which James now showed himself disposed to adopt, was of course

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 329.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 330. Dunfermline was more fortunate in its commendators than some other Scottish abbeys. Pitcairn, indeed, the first commendator, had embraced Protestantism (see *ante*, p. 171 note), but the three succeeding "abbots" were Catholics. Chalmers (*Hist. of Dunfermline*, vol. ii. p. 271) records that in 1580 a few monks, with doors bolted and barred, still kept watch in their choir by the shrines of St Margaret and St David.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 331. One of these priests was Alexander M'Whirrie or M'Quarry, probably the same who was instrumental in preserving and taking to Douai the arm of St Ninian. (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 14). In 1601 the Privy Council records mention the outlawry of W. Barclay for the crime of being present at two masses, said by Mr Alexander M'Whirrie, Jesuit priest.—TRANSLATOR.

[4] *Ibid.*, *l.c.* *Bainfyres* = bonfires, lit on festival days in token of rejoicing, and hence obnoxious to the Kirk. *Girdls*—including scapulars and similar blest articles. *Carrels* = carols, "sung within and about kirks on certain days" (Jamieson); prohibited by Act of Parl. Ja. VI.—TRANSLATOR.

warmly encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, as well as by the preachers and their adherents.[1] On January 3, 1593, all Jesuits, seminary priests, and excommunicated persons, were ordered by royal proclamation to quit the capital within three hours, on pain of death.[2] The immediate cause of this measure was the capture and subsequent confession of George Kerr (brother of the Abbot of Newbottle), who was the bearer of compromising letters from the Catholic nobles to the Court of Spain. The unfortunate man disclosed, under torture, the negotiations that had been going on for a proposed Spanish expedition to Scotland: and Angus, Fintry, and others involved in the conspiracy, were committed to prison. Kerr himself escaped with life, chiefly owing to the intervention of the queen of James VI.; but Fintry was executed, having resolutely refused to purchase his pardon by embracing the Protestant doctrines.[3]

Proclamation of Jesuits and seminary priests, 1593.

[1] *Barberini MSS.*, xxxii. fol. 331 (Jesuit Report, 1594). "At present the Queen of England gives the worst possible advice to the King of Scotland in regard to the Catholics; for she can easily understand that considerable danger may come to her from Scotland if they should unite their forces to attack her, especially if they were joined by foreign troops. Hence it is that she keeps upon the most intimate terms with all the Calvinistic ministers, whose safety is chiefly endangered, and that she bribes every one of the Scottish king's friends whom she can reach with her money, in order to prevent him from joining the Catholic party." — Transl. by Fr. Stevenson.

[2] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. i. No. 5, Jan. 3, 1593. Bowes to Huntingdon.

[3] *Barberini MSS.*, fol 231. "The Earl of Angus and the Baron

Increased bitterness of the Kirk.

The natural effect of these events was to increase the uneasiness of the Presbyterian clergy, and their consequent anxiety for fresh measures of religious persecution. In April 1593, the Assembly urged on the king that, "seeing the increase of Papistry daily within the realm, all Papists might be punished according to the laws of God and the realm." It was demanded that a declaration be made against all Jesuits, seminary priests, and trafficking Papists, pronouncing them guilty of treason; and that the penalties of the Act be enforced against all persons who concealed or harboured them—not for three days, as the law then stood, but for any time whatsoever. And further, that all such persons as the Kirk had found to be Papists should be debarred from occupying any office within the realm, as also from access to his Majesty's company, or enjoying any benefit of the laws.[1] The one aim of the Kirk, in short, was to root out, if possible, every

Proposed extirpation of "Popery."

of Fintry were immediately apprehended, and sentence of capital punishment was pronounced upon both of them. The Earl of Angus escaped from Edinburgh Castle by bribing his guards, but the Baron of Fintry was executed. He was held in the highest esteem through the whole of that realm, on account of the purity of his life and his wonderful prudence and learning. He might have saved his head if he had accepted the proposal which was made to him of embracing Calvin's heresy. But he answered very resolutely that it would be a bad bargain for him if he were to prefer earth to heaven."—Fr. Stevenson.

[1] MS. State Paper Office. "Humble petition of the General Assembly of the Kirk, April 29, 1593." (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 193.)

remaining vestige of the ancient faith. "The permission," remarks Tytler, "even of a single case of Catholic worship, however secret; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single mass, in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber, and where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience' sake, and in all sincerity of soul; such worship, and its permission for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of Antichrist and idolatry. To extinguish the mass for ever, to compel its supporters to embrace what the Kirk considered to be the purity of Presbyterian truth, and this under the penalties of life and limb, or, in its mildest form, of treason, banishment, and forfeiture, was considered not merely praiseworthy, but a point of high religious duty; and the whole apparatus of the Kirk, the whole inquisitorial machinery of detection and persecution, was brought to bear upon the accomplishment of these great ends."[1] The kirk-session of Perth even went to the length of solemnly forbidding Christmas loaves, as having a tendency to encourage the ignorant in superstition.[2]

Late in the summer of 1594, the unappeasable

[1] Tytler, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[2] *Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 275. "William Williamson, baxter, is accused (Jan. 10, 1597) for baking and selling great loaves at Yule, which was slanderous [scandalous], and cherishing a superstition in the hearts of the ignorant."

Expedition against the Catholic lords, 1594.

enmity of the Protestants to their Catholic fellow-subjects was gratified by the tidings that an expedition was about to be despatched against the disaffected nobility of the north. James had some time previously given proof of his zeal in the same direction, to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth, by storming Lord Maxwell's castle of Lochmaben, and hanging its captain with six of his men.[1] He commenced the campaign against the northern lords with equal vigour, despatching on the expedition the young Earl of Argyle at the head of six thousand men, with instructions to ravage the county of Huntly with fire and sword. The troops of the Catholic party were commanded by Huntly himself, supported by the Earl of Errol and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendoun; and the opposing forces met on October

Battle of Glenlivat.

the 3d at Glenlivat, in the district of Strathavon. Both sides fought fiercely; but Argyle's troops, although much superior in numbers, were no match for their opponents, the majority of whom were gentlemen, well mounted and well armed.

Victory of the Catholics.

The result was a complete victory for the Catholics; and Argyle himself bore the tidings of his defeat to the king, who was at Dundee. James was deeply incensed, and swore to be revenged on the rebels. Notwithstanding the

[1] The captain's name was David Maxwell. It was he, not Lord Maxwell (as the author erroneously states), who was hanged by order of the king. See *Historie of James the Sext*, p. 236.—TRANSLATOR.

inclement season, he advanced with a fresh force to Aberdeen, attended in his crusade against the idolaters by Andrew Melvill and a number of other ministers. Huntly's splendid castle of Strathbogie was reduced to ruins; the earl himself fled to the mountains of Caithness; and James, having appointed the Duke of Lennox his lieutenant in the north, disbanded his army and returned to Stirling.[1]

Departure of Huntly and Errol from Scotland, March 1595.

For some time Huntly and Errol remained in hiding in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Highlands; but at length seeing little hope, under existing circumstances, of any concession in the direction of religious liberty, they resolved to leave the country. The Jesuit Father Gordon, Huntly's uncle, in vain endeavoured to dissuade them from this course, and after celebrating mass for the last time in the noble cathedral of Elgin, publicly entreated them to remain in Scotland, and risk all for the faith. The earls had only a short time previously received from Pope Clement VIII. considerable sums of money in aid of their cause.[2] But their resolution was taken; and in March 1595, they both sailed from Scotland.

We must here pause in our narrative, in order briefly to review the labours of some of those dis-

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. liv. Nos. 62 (i. ii. iii.), 63, 64. Bowes to Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil, enclosing *Advertisements from the Camp*, with particulars of the battle of Glenlivat.

[2] See Appendix IV.

Distinguished Scottish Catholics in France.

tinguished Scotsmen, who either remained in the country at the risk of their lives, and in defiance of the severity of the penal laws administered to the spiritual wants of their brethren; or else, while themselves resident abroad, laboured for the support of their religion at home by educating priests, maintaining their exiled fellow-countrymen, and collecting money for the wants of the Scottish mission. The figure of one man, it need hardly be said, stands conspicuously forward, as pre-eminently distinguished for his services both to the Catholic Church and to his rightful sovereign. We have seen something, from time to time, of the indefatigable labours of John Leslie, bishop of Ross—the part which he took in the conferences of York and Westminster, as well as in the councils afterwards held at Paris by the friends of the captive Queen of Scots, and his negotiations with the Pope for the recovery of the ancient Scoto-German monasteries. Besides his two years' imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he was treated with great rigour, he was seized by a Protestant baron in the year 1578, whilst travelling through Germany, and confined for some time in a fortress near Strasburg.[1] Soon afterwards he was appointed bishop-auxiliary and vicar-general of Rouen, and held these offices until the year 1592, when he was

Bishop John Leslie.

[1] He seems on this occasion to have been mistaken for the archbishop of Rossana, the papal legate. See Irving, *Scotish Writers*, p. 139.

appointed to the vacant bishopric of Coutances, in Normandy. He never, however, assumed the administration of his new see. Bishop Leslie was on terms of intimate friendship with Dr Allen, who speaks in the warmest terms of his fidelity to religion, and generous disposition.[1] During his residence in France he showed much literary activity, publishing various works on historical, legal, and ascetic subjects.[2] The news of his sovereign's death reached him at Brussels, whither he had retired after the suppression of the League, in which he had taken a prominent part. He shortly afterwards withdrew to a monastery of canons-regular at Gertrudenberg, where he died on May 31, 1596, in his sixty-ninth year. The Scottish College at Paris owed its completion to the zealous bishop; and he also left funds for the foundation of the college afterwards established at Douai.[3]

Appointed to the see of Coutances.

His death 1596.

[1] Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 185. "Meque r^mum virum habere pro fideli in ecclesiam, patriam, et Principem suum, in suosque ac in omnes orthodoxos (præsertim nostrates) pro fide exules benignum, liberalem atque hospitalem semper extitisse."

[2] Irving (*op. cit.*, pp. 143 *et seq.*) gives a list of the bishop's writings. They include, besides his well-known *History of Scotland*, which he wrote both in English and in Latin, the following works: 'De illustrium Fœminarum in Repub. administranda, ac ferendis legibus, auctoritate, libellus,' &c.: Rheims, 1580. (An answer to Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet.') 'De titulo et jure Serenissimæ Principis Marie Scotorum Reginæ, quo Regni Angliæ Successionem sibi juste vendicat:' Rheims, 1580. 'Libri duo: quorum uno, Piæ afflicti Animi Consolationes, divinaque Remedia; altero, Animi tranquilli Munimentum et Conservatio, continentur.'

[3] See Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, tome ii. p. 148. Oliver

James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow.

Next to Leslie, perhaps the most prominent Scottish ecclesiastic of this period is James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. Consecrated at Rome in 1552, he ruled his diocese for but eight years; and flying with the treasures of his church from the revolutionary storms of 1560, he fixed his residence in Paris, where, for more than forty years, he filled the post of ambassador to Queen Mary and James VI. His intimate connection with the House of Guise naturally led him to associate himself with the League, and to take part against Henry IV. On the dissolution of the League,[1] he was threatened by the minister d'O with banishment from France; but the intervention of Cardinal Bourbon and Sully, and the favour of the king himself, secured him permission to remain in Paris. Henry justly deemed the prelate worthy of praise rather than of blame for his former adherence to the Guises and the Spanish

Forty years resident in Paris.

(*Collections*, p. 17) gives the inscription on the memorial tablet to the bishop in the Douai College. "Joannes Leslæus, Rossensis in Scotia, et designatus Coustansiensis in Gallia Episcopus, Mariæ Reginæ in Anglia captivæ apud Elizabetham orator, hæreticorum invidia captus, triennis vinctus, bonis exutus, perpetuo exilio mulctatus, reliquum vitæ apud Pontificem Maximum, Cæsarum et Galliæ Regem legationibus liberandæ Reginæ et restituendæ in patria catholicæ religionis impendit, scriptis et factis clarus, sancte moritur Bruxellis anno 1596, sepultus in sacello Sanctissimi Sacramenti: Mirifico Benefactori suo Seminar. Scot. p[osuit]."

[1] The League had been formed for the defence of Catholic rights against Protestant aggression; and the reconciliation of Henry IV. to the Church in 1593, and consequent triumph of the Catholic party in France, were naturally followed by its disorganisation, and soon afterwards by its final dissolution.—TRANSLATOR.

party, since at that time they offered the only hope of liberation to his royal mistress. Beaton was thus suffered to spend the remainder of his life quietly in France, where he enjoyed the income of the abbey De la Sie, in Poitou, the priory of St Peter's, and the treasurership of St Hilary of Poictiers. James VI., as we have seen, gave a high proof of his esteem for the archbishop by obtaining, in 1598, the restoration of his honours, dignities, and benefices, and this without any obligation of conforming to the established religion.[1] Beaton survived to witness, in the evening of his life, the union of the English and Scottish crowns. He died at Paris, on April 25, 1603, at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the cathedral of St John Lateran, at Rome.[2] As a constant friend and counsellor of the exiled Catholics of Scotland,[3] the religious guide of many converts to the faith, and the faithful servant and

Restored to his dignities by the Scottish Parliament, 1598.

His death, 1603.

[1] *Acts of Parliam. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. pp. 169, 170. The Act sets forth "the greit honouris done to his majestie and the countrey be the said archbishop, in exerceising and using the office of ambassadoir;" and declares him restored to his former dignities, "notwithstanding that he hes never maid confession of his faith, and hes never acknawledgeit the religion profest within this realme."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] His tomb in St John Lateran's is inscribed with a poetical epitaph in the exaggerated style of the period, commencing—

"Præsul et orator fuerat qui *maximus orbis*
Ætate hoc parvo marmore contegitur," &c.
—TRANSLATOR.

[3] The *State Papers* (Scot.), Elizabeth, vol. xiv. No. 96 (Dec. 1584), contain a letter from the archbishop to Ninian Winzet, in which he refers to a payment he expected to make to him shortly.

subject of his sovereign, his name deserves to be held in honourable remembrance. Scottish Catholics owe him a special debt of gratitude for his beneficence to their college at Paris. This venerable institution, founded in 1325, by Bishop David of Moray, extended by his successor, Robert Pilmore, and confirmed by King Charles the Fair, had, under the name of Grisy, been long incorporated into the University of Paris. Up to the Reformation, the bishops of Moray retained the founder's right of nominating the superiors of the college.[1] Archbishop Beaton bequeathed to this institution his entire fortune—some eighty thousand *livres*—as well as all his books and manuscripts, including the documents belonging to the see of Glasgow.[2] After his death, the college was placed under the visitation of the Paris Chartreuse.[3]

His benefactions to the college at Paris.

A third Scottish bishop was at this time resident in France—namely, William Chisholm, who had been appointed to the see of Dunblane in 1564, and had been sent in the following year to Rome, to obtain the dispensation for Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley.[4] Bishop Chisholm was held

Bishop William Chisholm.

[1] Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 140, 141.

[2] Most of these were, unhappily, lost in the French Revolution. Abbé M'Pherson, however, rescued a few of the most valuable (including the two volumes of the Glasgow Chartulary), and brought them to Scotland, where they ultimately came into the keeping of Bishop Kyle.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] See vol. iv. chap. iii., and Appendix XVIII.

[4] See *ante*, p. 81.

in great esteem at the Holy See, as is shown by the consistorial acts, which speak in the highest terms of his virtues and learning, and also of the facility with which he preached in the French language.[1] He held for a time the office of vicegerent of Rome, and was also a beneficiary of St Mary Major's. In November 1570, Pius V. named him to the bishopric of Vaison, near Avignon.[2] Fourteen years later, he resigned his see in favour of his nephew, also named William Chisholm, and became a Carthusian at Grenoble.[3] His successor in the see of Vaison was a man of some literary ability,[4] and took as keen an interest as his uncle

Named bishop of Vaison.

Succeeded by his nephew.

[1] Gouda, the Pope's legate, wrote in 1562, in his report to the General of the Jesuits, "He [Bishop Chisholm] has already made his influence felt, both in public and in private, having succeeded in confirming a great many people in the faith, and being justly held in high esteem and regard by all good men."—Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 75. Knox styles him "one of the chief pillars of the Papisticall Kirk."

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. p. 142. "Idibus Novembris, feria 4ª., S.S. proponente, ecclesia Vasonentis in comitatu Avenion. fuit in administrationem data episcopo Dumblanensi, Scoto, quousque illi redire liceat ad suam Dumblan. ecclesiam ab hæreticis detentam. Placuit provisio summopere toto senatui propter insignes virtutes quæ in ipso Episcopo relucent; præter enim Sacræ Theologiæ doctrinam et Gallicum sermonem quem callet ut facile in illo idiomate ad suam plebem concionari possit, miro ardore fidei Catholicæ præstat, vir nobilis et summæ modestiæ præditus, qui libentissime dimisit propter Christi nomen carni et sanguini minime parcens."

[3] He was afterwards prior of the Carthusians at Lyons, and later at Rome, where he died in 1593, and was buried in the Carthusian church there. See Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. xvii. p. 935.—TRANSLATOR.

[4] Among his writings was one entitled, 'Examen d'une confession de foy publicé n'agueres en France, sous le nom du Roy d'Angleterre et de son parlement. Fait premièrement en latin par Rev. Père en

His interest in Scotland.

in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. He meditated at one time returning thither, and actually received a letter of safe-conduct from King James; but he did not carry out his intention. His Scottish friends in Paris appear to have strongly dissuaded him from it; and he was perhaps the more inclined to listen to their advice on account of the report which reached him that the king had pronounced an opinion, openly advocated by Chisholm, respecting the Pope's power to depose heretical sovereigns, to amount to high treason.[1] Some time previous to this, James's signature appears to have been obtained to a letter requesting Pope Clement VIII. to raise Chisholm to the cardinalate;[2] and Elizabeth, in consequence, re-

His proposed elevation to the cardinalate, 1599.

Dieu Guillaume Cheisolme Escossois, evesque de Vaison: et puis en Francais et plus au long par F. M. Coeffetean.' Paris, 1603. [He also wrote a learned work against the Calvinists.—TRANSLATOR.]

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.*, Cod. 48. Lettere de Mgr. Innocentio del Bufalo. "Gli è comparso un salvo condotto tanto oscuro, et poco sicuro, che è accompagnato con una lettera dello stesso Rè, per la quale gli consiglia a differir tal viaggio in altro tempo piu opportuno, che gli farebbe sapere; detto Monsignor si è risoluto finita Quaresima ritornarsene al suo Vescovado per quanto mi ha detto, et in effetto tutti questi Scozzesi che son quà approvano tal risolutione, havendovi loro sempre protestato, che la persona di detto Monsignore in Scotia adesso havrebbe piuttosto ruinato il negotio della nostra Religione, e resa più difficile la conversione de quel Rè. — Parigi, 3 Giugno 1603. Par che quel Rè si sia lasciato intendere, che questo è caso di lesa Majestà."

[2] Rushworth (*Collections*, 1692, vol. i. p. 162) prints James's letter to the Pope, which contains the following passage: "Episcopum Vazoniensem vobis commendamus, qui ut sortis suæ qualeque incrementum vestræ sanctitati duntaxat refert acceptum, ita cardinalatûs honorem prioribus beneficiis, nostra præsertim gratia, adjici obnixe rogamus."

monstrated with him very sharply. The king at first disclaimed all knowledge of the affair; and when Cardinal Bellarmine proceeded to publish the letter in question, which was dated in 1599, he then charged Balmerino, the Secretary of State, with having obtained his signature surreptitiously. Balmerino was summoned before the Council in 1609, and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of his guilt, upon which he was condemned to death for treason. The king, however, interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence.[1] Whatever part James may have taken in the matter, it is clear from a document preserved in the Borghese library in Rome, that many people in Scotland, including the queen, looked upon the proposed promotion of Chisholm as likely to affect very favourably the prospects of Scottish Catholicism.[2]

Action of King James.

Feeling in Scotland on the subject.

[1] Spottiswood (*History*, vol. iii. pp. 197-204) relates the circumstances in detail, without throwing any doubt on James's good faith. There would be, however, nothing inconsistent with his vacillating character in his having actually written the letter in question, and afterwards disowned it. That he had, in fact, himself sent it to the Pope, seems clear from a letter written some years later to Father Owen, of the Society of Jesus, by Father William Creighton, who was one of the persons employed by the king to carry the letter to Rome. "He [James]," writes Father Creighton, "offered liberty of conscience, and sent me to Rome, to deal for the Pope's favour and making of a Scottish cardinal."—Stonyhurst MS., quoted by Tierney. *Dodd's Church History*, vol. iv. pp. 153, 154, note.—Translator.

[2] *Cod. Borghes.*, ii. 448. 6. "Pro Regno Scotiæ. Instant multis rationibus et argumentis promoveri ad Cardinalatum Episcopum Vasionensem concurrentibus in hoc instantissimis supplicationibus Reginæ et Principum ejus filiorum, ac Nobilium et totius populi,

Among other Scotsmen who during this period devoted themselves, while resident in France, to the cause of the faith in their native country, may be mentioned John Fraser, rector of the University of Paris; John Colville,[1] whom Fraser had converted to Catholicism, by demonstrating to him the absurdity of taking Scripture as the sole rule of faith; and Archibald Hamilton, the intimate friend of Archbishop Beaton, and author of numerous controversial works. A still more distinguished name (although now all but forgotten) was that of the learned Father John Broun, who, in 1595, entered the order of Friars Minim at Nigion, near Paris, and who speedily

John Fraser.

John Colville.

John Broun (Friar Minim).

qui omnes etsi Regem habeant hæreticum, catholice vivunt et Principes catholice educantur. Quod fidei catholicæ illius, et Angliæ et Hiberniæ Regnorum propagationi admodum necessarium est, ut miseri habeant, qui dignitatis eminentis auctoritate et splendore eos foveat, protegat, et ad majores indies progressus faciendos inanimet, et seditiones inter Jesuitas et presbyteros sæculares nec non inter alios deprimat, ortas sedare queat, et Principes juvenes habeant Consiliarium pietate et auctoritate ipsis venerandum. Et conantur confutare absurdum oppositum, quod ad instantiam Regis hæretici non sit assumendus iste Prælatus, dum Regina tam suo, quam Principum filiorum et trium Regnorum successorum nominibus, qui omnes sunt Catholici, id multis precibus humiliter et enixe contendunt."

[1] Colville's chief work, entitled *Parœnesis*, was published in Paris in 1602, in Latin, and the following year translated into Scotch. It contains pp. 1-11, History of his conversion: pp. 11-17, Ostenditur veritatem ex Ecclesia, non ex veritate Ecclesiam investigandam: pp. 17-58, Quæ sit vera Christi Ecclesia per quatuor notas illi proprias describitur: pp. 58-76, Probatur Antichristum ejusque sedem in Scripturis descriptam nullo modo neque Romæ, neque Pontifici Romano convenire: pp. 76-87, Remedia maxime idonea ad sedandas præsentes Ecclesiæ controversias proponuntur—the chief of these being steadfast adherence to ecclesiastical authority—that is, to the Pope.

gained a wide reputation for his profound theological learning and extensive acquaintance with oriental languages and literature. Appointed first professor of Hebrew, and subsequently rector of the college of his order at Avignon, he afterwards taught at Antwerp, and between the years 1614 and 1626 spent several years in England, although he does not seem to have been able to visit Scotland. He died in the convent of the Minims at Brussels, on January 14, 1635.[1]

John Langay.

Other literary Scotsmen of the time were John Langay, who wrote a life of Theodore Beza,[2] and

Francis Hamilton, O.S.B.

Francis Hamilton, prior of the Scottish monastery at Würzburg, who published a defence of the veneration of saints, and also a refutation of Calvinism.

Adam Blackwood.

Of somewhat wider reputation in France were the names of Adam Blackwood and William Barclay. The former was born at Dunfermline in 1539, studied in Paris, and received, though the influence of Queen Mary, the office of counsellor of Poictiers, in which town he died in 1613. He published a work in defence of the queen, and another maintaining the divine and absolute right of kings, in opposition to the views

[1] Antonius Sanderus, the learned canon of Ypres, says of Broun : "R. P. Joannes Bruno, e Scotia oriundus, magno illo Scoto [Duns] si non parem, at supparem hercle subtilitatem assecutus est, qua abdita Scripturarum et Theologiæ sacramenta indagavit penetravitque." See "Scotus Peregrinus," in the *Tablet*, Sept. 11, 1880.

[2] 'De vita et moribus Theodori Bezæ omnium hæreticorum nostri temporis facile principis.' Auctore Jacobo Langæo, Doctore Sorbonico. Paris, 1585.

William Barclay.

of Buchanan, whom he denounced with much bitterness.[1] Barclay was a native of Aberdeen, and after studying law at Paris and Bourges under Donellus and Contius, obtained, in 1578, the professorship of civil law at Pont-à-Mousson, through the recommendation of his uncle, Father Edmund Hay, rector of that university. Twenty years later he resigned his chair, and came to London, where King James offered him high preferment, on condition of his renouncing his faith, which Barclay refused to do. He became subsequently professor of law at Angers, and died there in 1605. In the following year his celebrated work, *De Potestate Papæ*, directed against the Pope's temporal authority over sovereigns, was published, with a preface by his son.[2] It was dedicated to Clement VIII., and was answered in an elaborate treatise by Cardinal Bellarmine.[3]

[1] 'Apologia pro Regibus, adversus Georgii Buchanani Dialogum de Jure Regni apud Scotos:' Pictavis, 1581. He also wrote, 'De conjunctione religionis et imperii libri duo.' His defence of Queen Mary, entitled, 'Martyre de Royne d'Escosse, Douairiere de France,' was published at Paris (nominally at Edinburgh) in 1587, and reprinted by Jebb in 1725.

[2] The son, John Barclay, won a European reputation as a Latin scholar, and as the author of the celebrated satirical romance, entitled the *Argenis*. He remained faithful to the Catholic Church, and is buried in St Onofrio's Church in Rome (where the poet Tasso is also interred).—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Barclay also published an important work—embodying the same views as those of Blackwood—on the kingly power; and towards the close of his life a commentary on the titles of the Pandects, which was considered of high authority. It is inserted

Besides those whom we have mentioned as labouring on foreign soil for the restoration of the fallen Scottish Church, there were not wanting zealous champions of her cause at home. Nicol Burne, professor of philosophy in St Leonard's College at St Andrews, was converted in 1580 to the Catholic faith, to which he henceforth devoted himself, both by word and pen. Soon after his conversion he held public disputations with the ministers on various religious questions; and being shortly afterwards deprived of his professorship, and banished from Scotland, he printed in Paris a full report of the discussion.[1]

Nicol Burne.

in the great collection of Otto, *Thesaurus Juris Romani*, tom. iii. —Translator.

A letter written from England in 1610 (Foley, *Records*, vol. vii. part ii. p. 1006) speaks of the work *De Potestate Papæ* as having been revised, before publication, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and states that its arguments were likely to be made use of in support of the oath of allegiance recently imposed on the English Catholics.

[1] 'The Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, haldin in the Realme of Scotland, the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundredth four scoir yeiris, betuix the pretendit ministers of the deformed kirk in Scotland and Nicol Burne, Professor of Philosophie in St Leonardis College in the citie of Sanctandrois, brocht up from his tender eage in the perversit sect of the Calvinistis, and now, be ane special grace of God, ane member of the halie catholic Kirk. Dedicat to his Soverane the Kingis M. of Scotland, King James the Sext.'

Burne was confined, as an excommunicated Papist, in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh for three months in 1580, and afterwards ordered by the Privy Council to quit Scotland (*Regist. Priv. Counc.*, vol. iii. pp. 328, 355). He complained that while in prison a purse which he had hung out of window to obtain alms had been stolen from him.—Translator.

The work bears testimony not only to his polemical ability, but also to his wide acquaintance with the patristic writings, which he cites against his opponents with remarkable shrewdness and point. Another prominent Catholic in Scotland was the chancellor of the kingdom, Alexander Seton, who had received his education in Bologna and Rome, and was esteemed one of the most learned jurists of his age. James VI. loaded him, on his return to Scotland, with preferments and honours, and he consequently became a prominent mark for the spiteful attacks of the preachers. Seton appears at times to have been wanting in the courage to make open profession of his faith; but some time before his death he publicly and unreservedly declared his adherence to the Catholic religion.[1]

Alexander Seton.

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

One of the most powerful factors in the preservation of the ancient faith in Scotland was, of course, the missionary zeal of the newly founded Society of Jesus. The most prominent figure among the first Jesuit missionaries to Scotland is that of Father William Creighton,[2] who visited

William Creighton, S.J.

[1] Conœus, *De Duplici Statu Religionis*, p. 154. "Coram frequentissima procerum multitudine, ipsisque adeo inspectantibus et audientibus hæreticis nonnullis, et ex ministrorum factione primariis, orthodoxam veritatem palam et constanter professus asseruit, se nihil in vita æque pœnitendum egisse, quam quod remissiorem ac minus acrem in vera fide profitenda, ut Principi morem gereret, se exhibuerit; hæc non sine lacrymis loquutus, adstantes rogavit ut testes essent ipsum in Catholica Romana Ecclesia mori."

[2] See, however, p. 253, *note*.

the country in 1582, and was shortly afterwards despatched to Rome, as we have seen, on an important mission connected with the proposed Spanish expedition. Two years later he was again sent to Scotland, accompanied by Father James Gordon, uncle to Lord Huntly. The vessel in which they sailed was seized by the Dutch, and the Jesuit fathers were condemned to be hanged for imaginary complicity in the recent murder of the Prince of Orange. Gordon's high family connections, however, procured his liberation, and Creighton, was afterwards handed over to Queen Elizabeth, who sent a ship to Ostend for him,[1] and confined him in the Tower of London for two years. The Master of Gray was at this time pursuing his intrigues at the English Court; and Queen Mary appealed to him to obtain the liberation of the prisoner. Gray handed the queen's letter to the English ministers, with the apparent object of implicating Creighton in some supposed conspiracy with Mary. He succeeded, however, in convincing Elizabeth of his innocence, and was set free shortly afterwards.[2] He appears to have gained

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

[1] Tytler (*Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 95) repeats, without comment, an absurd story which was circulated, that some papers which Father Creighton tore in pieces during the voyage were blown on board again, and, when pieced together, were found to contain details of a plan for the Spanish invasion of Scotland.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Juvencius, *Hist. Societatis Jesu.* (1710), l. 13, p. v. No. 99. Creighton is said to have owed his liberation to the statement made by William Parry (executed for treason in 1584), to the effect that

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

the confidence of King James, who selected him some years later as the bearer of a letter to the Pope, with reference to the proposed elevation of Bishop Chisholm to the cardinalate.[1] We find him at Seville in 1596 ; and he appears to have spent the closing years of his life in Douai, where he devoted himself to the interests of the newly founded Scotch college.[2]

James Gordon, S.J.

Father Gordon in the meantime had been prosecuting his missionary labours in Scotland for some years with the utmost zeal and devotion. Through his influence, his nephew, the young Earl of Huntly, remained staunch to the Catholic faith ; and he repeatedly held public disputations with the leading ministers of the capital, not infrequently in the presence of the king himself. So violent was the feeling of the preachers against him, that he deemed it prudent to withdraw for a time to the north of Scotland.[3] In 1585 the

the Jesuit, when consulted as to the lawfulness of killing the queen, replied strongly in the negative. (Thompson Cooper, art. "Creighton," *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, vol. xiii. p. 94.)—TRANSLATOR.

[1] See *ante*, p. 331, note.

[2] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 226.

[3] From the Jesuit report of 1594, it would seem that Father Gordon actually embarked for France, but left the ship next day in a small boat, and so returned to Scotland. *Barberini MSS.*, xxxii. fol. 210. "Among the other causes which contributed in no small degree to the growth of Catholicism in Scotland this was one. Father Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Huntly, and a kinsman to the king, not only touched the hearts of many persons by his holiness of life, but further, being a man of great learning, he openly defeated the ministers of the heretics in the public discussions which were held. It happened also, most opportunely, that as the

Jesuit mission was reinforced by the arrival of two more fathers, Edmund Hay and John Durie, who came disguised as domestic servants to a priest named Robert Bruce.[1] This Father Edmund must not be confounded with the distinguished theologian and writer, John Hay, who had visited Scotland six years before, and for whom his brother, William Hay of Dalgaty, had found caution to the Privy Council in the sum

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

Edmund Hay and John Durie, S.J.

John Hay, S.J.

king was expostulating with the young Earl of Huntly for not embracing Calvinism, Huntly replied that there was an uncle of his own in Scotland whom he would much more willingly intrust with the salvation of his soul than any of that heretical ministry. When his majesty heard this remark, he asked the earl to send his uncle to him at Edinburgh, in which is the king's palace, and where the more learned of the ministers generally reside. The king having given his promise that no harm should come to Gordon, that father accepted the invitation, and in about two or three months he publicly refuted the teaching of these heretics with so much acuteness, and with such a crushing weight of arguments, that the sting of them rankled ever afterwards in the minds of not a few. His majesty was present, and as many also of the nobles as chose to attend. The ministers were so enraged with this, that they gave the king no rest until he ordered Father Gordon to leave Scotland. Overcome by their importunity, he ordered the Earl of Huntly, under the penalty of ten thousand pieces of gold, to cause Father Gordon to leave the realm within a month. Huntly obeyed the king. Father Gordon embarked at Aberdeen in a ship bound for France, and caused an attestation to that effect to be drawn up by a notary public. Next day a boat left the ship, in which Father Gordon returned to Scotland, where he and three other fathers of the Society of Jesus, along with certain other students of the papal seminary, there employ themselves with the greatest success."—(Translated by Fr. Stevenson.)

[1] Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu.*, l. 13, p. v. No. 101. Father Durie was the author of a controversial work entitled 'Refutatio Responsionis Whitakeri ad X rationes Campiani.' He died in Scotland in 1588.

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

William Holt, S.J.

of a thousand pounds that he would leave the country.[1] Father William Holt was another Jesuit missionary in Scotland at this time: he suffered imprisonment for the faith in 1583, and was said to have escaped the torture only by the special intervention of the young king, with whom he appears to have enjoyed considerable favour.[2] He died at Barcelona in 1599.

One of the conditions in the league or alliance which Elizabeth concluded with James in the beginning of 1586, was the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits from Scotland—a stipulation which, of course, threw fresh obstacles in the way of the mission in that country.[3] Fathers Hay and Durie

[1] *Report of Privy Counc.*, vol. iii. p. 204. "Caution by William Hay of Delgatie, in £1000, that Mr Johnne Hay, Jesuit, his brother, shall go abroad, 'wind and weather servand,' before the 1st October next, and that he will do nothing meanwhile 'offensive to the trew and Christiane religioun established.'" Father Hay printed, in 1580, 'Certain Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline,' which, according to Burton (*Hist. of Scotl.*, vol. v. p. 6), was published in German, at Fribourg, five years later.

[2] Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 191. Dr Allen to Father Agazzari, S.J., May 20, 1583. "De optimo P. Gulielmo Holto capto et in vincula in Scotia conjecto antea scripsi, et nunc porro intelligo eum fuisse gravissime tortum equuleo; sed fidem, constantiam et taciturnitatem summe servasse." See also Theiner, *Annal.*, vol. iii. p. 804. Gray to Archbishop Beaton, Edinburgh, January 27, 1584. "Il Padre Guglielmo Holt, Giesuita, ha trovato il Re clementissimo verso di lui, perchè a la mia sola preghiera Sua Maestà ha consentito che lui resti in Scotia, et a questo effetto m'ha dato un salvocondotto sottoscritto di sua mano propria per darli, come da lui potrà intendere." Cf. Foley, *Records*, vol. vii. p. 1435.

[3] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. xxxix. Nos. 9, 10, January 1586. Instructions for Mr Randolphe, and principal points of the same.

quitted the capital and remained in retirement for a time, during which Father Durie converted Lord Maxwell to the Catholic Church, at Dumfries, where he was governor. Father Gordon about the same time reconciled the Earl of Errol to the ancient faith, and confuted, in public disputations, George Hay and other prominent preachers. The death of Queen Mary, a few months later, disposed the king, as we have seen, to show some indulgence, at least temporarily, to his Catholic subjects; and the Jesuit missionaries were not slow in taking advantage of this turn in their favour. Father Creighton speedily arrived in Scotland from Rome, and George Durie from Lorraine, while Fathers Robert Abercromby and William Ogilvie came from Poland. Father Gordon was meanwhile despatched to Rome, to lay before the Holy See the new hopes that had arisen in regard to Scotland; but these were not destined to be of long duration. Not long after his return to Scotland was fought the battle of Glenlivat, resulting in a victory for the Catholic lords, and the king was easily induced by the alarmed leaders of the Kirk to decree the immediate banishment of Gordon, whose request to be allowed openly to defend his cause before the preachers was refused. He accordingly quitted Scotland in the autumn of 1596; but his place, and that of Father Creighton (who, as already mentioned, had gone

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

Banishment of Father Gordon.

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

to Douai to devote himself to the foundation of the Scotch college), were quickly filled by two more fathers of the Society, William Murdoch [1] and John Myrton or Morton. The latter was immediately apprehended, and by order of the king (on whom Queen Elizabeth seems to have urged much more severe measures [2]) sent back into Belgium. Fathers Murdoch and Abercromby, however, remained in hiding, doing meanwhile all in their power for the spiritual needs of their sorely pressed fellow-Catholics. In June of the following year, Father Gordon reappeared in Scotland, but within three months was again forced to leave the country.[3] He sailed from Aberdeen to Norway, and thence came to Lübeck and Hamburg, where he spent some time in his usual active labours for the Catholic cause. In 1598 he resolved on another visit to Scotland, and accordingly arrived at Leith on St Andrew's

His return and banishment a second time.

His third appearance in Scotland.

[1] Juvencius, *op. cit.*, l. 13, p. v. No. 101. Father Murdoch (according to Oliver's *Collections*), died at Pont-à-Mousson in 1616.—Translator.

[2] *Codex Borghes.*, ii. p. 4486. "Ex postremis ex Scotia litteris acceptis, Regina Angliæ urget Regem, ut is P. Jo. Mirtonium Soc. Jesu, qui illuc superiore anno ex urbe profectus in hæreticorum manus incidit, ultimo supplicio afficiat, ut sic Rex catholicorum principum odium incurrat. Magni quotidie fiunt in religione progressus, nec Patres aut Operarii labori sufficiunt."

[3] In a letter written on September 1, 1597, to the General of the Society (Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 232 *et seq.*), Father Gordon depicts in graphic language the disastrous effect on religion in Scotland caused by the apostasy of the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, who, on the 29th of the previous June, had publicly subscribed the Protestant Confession. See *post*, p. 354.—Translator.

Day. The undaunted missionary made his way straight to Holyrood, and demanded audience of the king. James gave orders that he should be detained in the Castle, where next day he had a long interview with some of the ministers of State. Gordon informed them that he had come openly and without fear to demand an answer to his former proposal for a public discussion with the preachers, which he was ready to hold forthwith, and, if possible, in the king's own presence. The only one of the opposing party who appeared inclined to take up the challenge was the rector of the new Presbyterian College in Edinburgh, a man of considerable learning, who had recently written a work in refutation of Cardinal Bellarmine's controversies. This he presented to Father Gordon, who at once drew up a reply to it; but at this point the matter abruptly ended, owing to the sudden death of the Protestant champion. None of the other ministers appeared willing to enter the lists with their formidable opponent; but instead they openly accused him of causing the death of his colleague by magical arts, and demanded that he should be put to instant death. To this the king showed himself resolutely opposed; but he nevertheless thought it imprudent for Father Gordon to remain longer in Scotland. He therefore sailed from Leith in May 1599, provided with safe-conducts and letters of recommendation both from the king and queen, and

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

Father Gordon and the preachers.

Their enmity to him.

He again quits Scotland, 1599.

Jesuit mission in Scotland.

betook himself to Denmark to wait for better days.[1] About the same time another Jesuit father, named George Christie, was betrayed and brought before the king, who recommended him to leave the country, which he accordingly did, retiring to Belgium.[2]

Result of the labours of the Jesuits.

That the labours of the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland were not without fruit, is shown by the letters written during this period by the French nuncio to the Pope, in which allusion is made to the numerous conversions that had taken place. Writing on January 3, 1600, the nuncio (Gasparo Slingardi, Bishop of Modena) is able to report the daily arrival in Paris of noble Scottish converts to the faith ; so that, he adds, in almost every family, in Scotland as well as in England, there seems to be a movement in favour of Catholicism. He had already, on June 9, 1599, in order to facilitate the reception of converts, applied to the Holy See on behalf of various priests for faculties to absolve from heresy.[3] Among those recently reconciled to the Church,

[1] The foregoing details are chiefly taken from Father Gordon's own letter to the General, dated from Altona, July 13, 1599, and printed by Forbes-Leith (*Narratives*, pp. 243-261).

[2] Juvencius, *op. cit.*, Nos. 104, 105. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 262.

[3] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Lettere del Nuntio in Francia*, 9 Junii 1599). "In Scozia magna spes ostenditur Ecclesiæ restaurandæ, eaque augetur indies et magis explorata cernitur, dum istic videre licet, non paucos ex ordine nobilium æstuantes desiderio religionis catholicæ propagandæ."

Jesuit mission in Scotland. Scottish converts.

we find the names of a brother of the Earl of Crawford, James Lindsay, whom the preachers succeeded in ousting from the king's favour (in which he had formerly stood high), and compelling him to retire to France;[1] also James Stuart, brother of the Earl of Orkney; John Wood, son of the Baron of Boniton, himself a Catholic;[2] and, finally, Anne of Denmark, the

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.*, Cod. 48. Letter from Archbishop Beaton: Paris, 20 Julii 1501. "In his est D. Jacobus Lindsæus, frater germanus Comitis de Craffurd, qui clarissimo apud nostrates loco natus, puer Calvini imbiberat errores, provectior autem ut cœpit sentire, qua devium tenuisset iter, mature Catholicorum ductu, gressus deflexit ad viam quæ per Ecclesiam recta est. Quod quum ad aures ministellorum pervenisset, omnia verserunt, nunc minis, nunc blanditiis insistentes, ut per regressum ab illa salutis recta, ad ineptam perditionis viam multis transversis divisam recurreret. Tandem vero quum efflagitantium postulata rejecisset, omnes concitarunt suæ sectæ turbas ac furias, ut eum depellerent a Rege, apud quem erat in gratia, et in exteras regiones atque oras relegarent. Sic e Scotia discedere coactus, in Franciam venit."

This account is confirmed by a letter from Father R. Abercromby, who writes (August 1, 1598) that Sir James Lindsay "abandoned all for conscience' sake, and preferred leaving his native country rather than give up his religion." (Quoted by Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 351, note.) Lord Crawford himself, who appears on Burghley's list as a Catholic (see *ante*, p. 313), was also a recent convert to the old religion (*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. i. p. 312).—Translator.

[2] *Archiv. Vatic.*, *loc. cit.*, January 5, 1600. At the instance of Archbishop Beaton, the French nuncio recommends to the Cardinal-Secretary of State "Giacomo Stuart, fratello del Conte delle isole Orcade; l'altro Giovanni Vuode, figliuolo del Barone di Boniton." [Father M'Quhirrie, S.J., thus refers to John Wood and his brother, in a letter dated May 1, 1601: "We have lost the noble baron, whose brother, John Wood, at this moment is so ably guiding our counsels. He fell nobly, a martyr to the malice and envy of the priests of Calvin."—Translator.] "So ben," continues the nuncio, "dire io a Vossignoria Illustrissima che ogni

queen of James VI., with regard to whom it will be well to speak in this place somewhat more at length.

Queen Anne of Denmark.

The daughter of King Frederick II. of Denmark and of Princess Sophia of Mecklenburg, both rigid Lutherans, Anne had been educated in the strictest conformity with that faith. She is said, however, to have learned the Catholic tenets from a young Austrian princess, one of her youthful companions: and the impression thus made upon her she never lost. On November 23, 1589, she was married to King James at Upsal (afterwards Christiania); and the royal pair, after spending the winter at Kronberg, sailed for Scotland in April 1590, landing at Leith on the 1st of May. The King of Denmark had stipulated in the marriage treaty that his daughter should be free to continue in the Lutheran religion, and therefore to have the attendance of a chaplain belonging to that denomination. A Lutheran minister named John Lering accordingly accompanied her to Scotland.[1] Shortly after her arrival, Queen Anne, whom Beaumont, the French envoy, describes as a person of lively disposition and high spirits, and of whom

giorno capitano qui nobili di quel paese ritornati al grembo della chiesa, come vi è ritornata ancora la Regina per quel che si sà qui, e li medesimi anco lo riferiscono e dicono che in quel regno ogni casa è in moto per conto della religione."

[1] Stevenson, *Anne of Denmark, Queen of Great Britain* (*The Month*, Feb. 1879, pp. 256-265).

another ambassador wrote that she showed a strong leaning to Catholicism,[1] became acquainted with Father Robert Abercromby, the pupil of the celebrated Laynez and friend of Cardinal Hosius.[2] Father Abercromby instructed the queen in the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and received her into the Church, probably in the year 1600.[3] The circumstances are minutely related by himself in a letter addressed to Prior Stuart, of St James's, Ratisbon, and transmitted to the prior by Father Gretser, S.J., in August 1612.[4] King James appears to have at least tacitly consented to the relations of his queen with the Jesuit father, whom he named about this time superintendent of the royal falconry.

Her Catholic tendencies.

Conversion of the queen.

[1] Public Record Office, Transcripts from Vatican Library. *Reg. Bibl. Vatic.*, 603. Relatione dell' Isola e Regno d'Inghilterra fatta da Marc Antonio Correr, Ambasc. di Venetia: "La Regina nominata Anna, sorella del Re di Danemarca . . . in Scotia ha procurato il Rè di ridurla alla sua professione, ed altri di farla Cattolica, al che ella ha sempre mostrata e mostra grande inclinatione."

[2] The Episcopal Archives of Frauenburg contain a letter, written in the autumn of 1567 or 1568, by Robertus Scotus (Abercromby) to Cardinal Hosius, beginning, "Transiens hac Gedanum 2° Julii, Lusitanus quidam vir illustris familiæ, mihi postquam conscientiæ rationem reddidit, Ecclesiæ sacramenta apud nos suscepit."—(Communicated by Professor Hipler, Braunsberg.)

[3] A memorial, however, by Father M'Quhirrie, written in 1601, and confirming Father Abercromby's narrative of the queen's conversion (see Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 272 *et seq.*) gives the date as August 1st, "three years ago," *i.e.*, 1598.—Translator.

[4] Father Gretser's letter to the prior, and also Father Abercromby's, will be found in Appendix V. The author, both in the text and the appendix, incorrectly calls Father Stuart *Abbot*. The Abbot of St James's from 1595 to 1629 was John James White, who succeeded Ninian Winzet in the office.—Translator.

Up to the time when James succeeded to the crown of England, Father Abercromby continued his ministry at the Court of Anne, who during this interval communicated nine or ten times at his hands.[1] The solemn coronation of the king and queen as sovereigns of Great Britain, in July 1603, proved a severe test of the sincerity of her conversion, as she was expected to receive the Protestant sacrament on the occasion. This, however, to the great discontent of her subjects, she resolutely refused to do, declaring in reply to the representations of the Anglican bishops, that she would rather renounce her queenly title than take part in what to her would be a sacrilegious profanation.[2]

Her refusal to take the Protestant sacrament.

Father Abercromby's own testimony as to the queen's religious sentiments is corroborated by the independent evidence of two foreign ambassadors in England. According to Beaumont, the French representative, Anne had expressed to him her earnest desire to show favour to the Catholics, since she herself was at heart of the

Testimony of the French and Tuscan ambassadors.

[1] Father M'Quhirrie also says: "During the three years which have elapsed since [her conversion], she has received some nine or ten times." It is perhaps worth noticing that Professor Ward, the queen's latest biographer (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. i.), ignores altogether the contemporary evidence which proves her actual reception into the Catholic Church, and is content to sum up the matter under the questionable term, "coquetting with Rome." The evidence adduced by Father Forbes-Leith in his *Narratives* can leave no room for doubt as to the fact.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Birch's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 504. (Quoted by Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. vii. p. 409.)

same faith; and had, moreover, told him of frequent conversations she had had with the king, with a view to his conversion, but she had ever found him stubbornly opposed to such a step.[1] The Tuscan ambassador, Count Alfonso Monticuculi, wrote on October 29, 1603, that on the occasion of his presenting the queen with certain sacred pictures, sent her by the Grand Duchess his mistress, Anne professed herself a Catholic, and said that she desired nothing but the exaltation of Holy Mother Church: whereupon the envoy took occasion to exhort and confirm her in this good disposition.[2] A few months

[1] Brit. Mus. MSS., Geo. IV., No. 124, fol. 18. (Cited by Stevenson, *The Month*, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.) The anxiety of James not to commit himself by any overt act of sympathy with Catholics or their tenets sometimes showed itself in rather ludicrous fashion. Tytler (*Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 231) tells us of a Jesuit (Father Morton) who was brought before the king on one occasion, and on whose person was found an exquisitely carved ivory miniature of the crucifixion—a present sent to the queen by Cardinal Cajetan. James, when asked by Morton if he would not kiss it in memory of Christ's passion, answered, "No; the Word of God is enough to remind me of the crucifixion; and besides, this carving of yours is so exceeding small, that I could not kiss Christ without kissing both the thieves and the executioners." (*State Papers*, vol. lv., March 25 and April 5, 1595.)—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Archiv. di Stato.* (Firenze), Carteggio IV. fol. 71 b. Da Vinchester, li 29 di Ottobre 1603. "Et con l'occasione di queste santissime Imagini, ha liberalmente Sua Maestà prorotto à dirmi e confermarmi di esser Cattolica e di non desiderar altro che l'essaltazione della Santa Madre Chiesa. . . . Io in questo pigliando cuore d'esortarla et confermarla in questi buoni pensieri, le donai lo scattolino delle Imagini in nome di madama S^ma^, con la scrittura che haveva fatta tradurre in Francese."

Galluzzi, in his *History of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany* (vol. iii.

previously the nuncio in Paris reported that Baron de Tur, formerly French ambassador at Edinburgh, had informed him that the queen was, without doubt, a Catholic, but on account of the heretical ministers in Scotland, did not venture openly to profess the faith.[1]

Condemnation of Fr. Abercromby.

Not long after the departure of the queen to reside in England, Father Abercromby was cited before the tribunals, and failing to appear, was sentenced to death for contumacy, a large price being set upon his head.

The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and the iniquitous attempts that were made to implicate the Jesuits in the conspiracy, kindled in the mind of King James feelings of bitter hostility

pp. 318-323), relates in some detail the negotiations carried on by Queen Anne some years later with the Grand Ducal Court, in relation to the proposed marriage of Prince Henry to Catherine de Medici, sister of the Grand Duke. The queen conducted her correspondence through Lotti, the secretary of the Florentine embassy; and the historian adds: "La Regina lo aveva ammesso al segreto del suo cattolicismo, ed esso la serviva in procurarli da Roma delle indulgenze e delle devozione." Anne wrote herself to the Pope on the subject, declaring herself his "devotissima figlia." (See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lviii. p. 397.)—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Francia*), Parigi, 1 Luglio 1603. "Mi riferisce (il Signor Barone di Tur, con quale finalmente mi sono abboccato) che quella Regina [d'Inghilterra] è sicuramente cattolica, sebbene per rispetto di quei ministri heretici di Scotia fin qui non ha havuto ardire di palesarsi." On the 23d of the previous June the nuncio wrote, "che la Regina ha un confessore Giesuita . . . . che porta sempre la corona et una crocetta datagli dal suo confessore." These may be the "trinkets" referred to by Miss Strickland as having been received by Queen Anne from the Pope. (*Queens of England*, vol. vii. p. 410.)

to the Society.[1] He commanded strict inquisition to be made for Abercromby, who consequently left the country and betook himself to Braunsberg, in Eastern Prussia. Here he died in his eighty-first year, on April 27, 1613, closing in peace the long and laborious life which had been devoted entirely to the service of religion.[2] The

He retires to Braunsberg.

[1] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Francia*), Parigi, 16 Novembre 1603. "Tutti i Gesuiti generalmente sono odiosi al Re, e sino à quello chiamato Abercrommy, il quale seguitava secretamente la Regina, hora si cerca diligentissimamente per ritrovarlo."

[2] Rostowski (*Lituanic. S.J. Histor.*, p. 236) gives a summary of Father Abercromby's fruitful life and labours: "Unde viginti annos postea versatus in Scotia, salutis negotiator civicæ, dici vix potest quot incommoda, quam multa dura, quanta patientia pertulerit. Pluribus suis popularibus ad Ecclesiam pertractis, in regiam aulam penetravit; reginamque, Danico ortam genere, lutheranicisque implicitam erroribus, ut se Deo per sinceram religionem restitueret, inque fide ad supremum usque vitæ suæ diem permaneret, inducit. Prodita sunt regi Roberti studia: dissimulavit princeps, neque aula sua indignius quidpiam statuit, quam ut vocitaretur regalis præfectus aucupii. Ille ne regius tantum nuncuparetur auceps, greges etiam errabundos scilicet post Lutherum cives suos, venabatur. Ea propagandæ in Scotia religionis facultas odia hæreticorum inflammavit: conqueri illi apud regem; et quia catholicorum faveret partibus, moliri pestem principi, idque non obscure minitari. Damnatur Robertus capite, æstimato nummum decies mille numerandorum illi, qui reum ante tribunal suum constituisset. Noster interim, Deo fretus et suæ bonitate causæ, nihilo tamen secius sua persequi; quam boni tenax propositi ac vigilans ad omnia. Sed cautum etiam prope fuit, ut opprimeretur insidiantium malitia, maxime cum apud suum hospitem catholicam suos ad fidem tenendam et vitæ officia christianæ hortaretur. Tum in obsessa ab hæreticis domo furiose quæsitus, ad forum et pœnas decretas tractus fuisset in vinculis, nisi famulum suum Deus quo nescio modo protexisset. Novem ita decemque annos in perpetuis versatus est periculis. Laboribus denique fractum, et jam octogenarium, Brunsberga in suum recepit collegium." See Hipler, *Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland* (Braunsberg, 1873), p. 206.

Scotch students at Braunsberg.

registers of the College of Braunsberg, where he spent his declining years, contain at this period the names of many young Scotsmen, who received in the seminary — erected by Cardinal Stanislas Hosius—their training at the hands of the fathers of the Society for the work of the mission in their native country.[1] Among noble Scottish converts about this time we may mention the name of William Elphinston, who entered the Jesuit novitiate, and died in the odour of sanctity at Naples on April 8, 1584.[2] Rostowski[3] speaks of another young Scot of noble family, a Protestant, who made the accidental acquaintance of two Jesuit fathers, the result being that he renounced his inheritance and entered as a student at Braunsberg, whence he afterwards went to Rome.

Report of the French nuncio, 1602.

A glimpse into the condition of the Catholics of Scotland at the beginning of the seventeenth century is afforded us by a report, sent by the Paris nuncio (Innocenzo del Bufalo, Bishop of Camerino) to the Cardinal-Secretary in August 1602. He recommends to his Eminence two Scottish pilgrims to Loretto and Rome,—John Gordon and Alexander Scot, the former of whom (a near relative of the Earl of Huntly) he says has for forty years been contending with the

[1] For a list of these Scottish students, see Appendix VI.

[2] Foley (*Records*, vol. vii. pp. 1269-1320) gives a detailed life of Elphinston from a manuscript in the Minerva Library at Rome.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

preachers, and has shown much kindness to the hunted Catholic clergy in the north. He has suffered much, adds the nuncio, at the hands of the ministers: his house has been razed to the ground, and his wife and ten children left homeless. As for Scot—a nephew of Father Edmund Hay—he, too, had been proscribed for nonconformity to the established religion, and had suffered the confiscation of his property, which came into the possession of the minister of the parish. The report narrates that Scot was one day riding in the field with his son, when he met this minister, accompanied by a relative and an insolent servant. High words were exchanged—these led to blows, and the affair ended by the minister and his kinsman being left for dead on the ground, while Scot's son was grievously wounded. Scot himself fled in disguise to England, and thence to France, "where," the nuncio concludes, "he is destitute of all human help. May our holy lord [the Pope] have pity upon him!"[1] Such an incident as this gives us some idea of the misery wrought by the tyranny of the Kirk: every class of society was torn in two by the bitterest party divisions, and the cause of religion and of civil order alike suffered in consequence. The few Catholic ecclesiastics who remained in Scotland went about disguised as

Collision between an evicted Catholic laird and a preacher.

Miserable condition of society.

[1] The original text of the nuncio's report is given in Appendix VII.

soldiers, physicians, or merchants, and exercising their sacred functions by stratagem and stealth; for only thus could they hope to evade the prying eyes of the preachers. The latter were meanwhile leaving no stone unturned to bring over to their side the three Catholic earls (Huntly, Angus, and Errol), who had returned to Scotland in 1597 with a view to securing their property from confiscation. It was reported to the General Assembly (which met at Dundee on May the 10th) that the earls had recanted their errors, and were ready to subscribe the Confession of Faith; and they were in consequence solemnly absolved from excommunication and reconciled to the Kirk at Aberdeen on the 26th of June.[1] The conversion of the three leading supporters of the Catholic cause was a triumph to the preachers, of which they made the most; but there can be little doubt that it was merely an unworthy pretence on the part of the earls themselves, who before long again openly professed themselves Catholics.

Three Catholic earls conform to the Kirk.

The unfavourable aspect at this time presented by Catholic affairs in Scotland, served only to increase the pastoral solicitude of Pope Clement VIII. for that distracted country. In the year 1596 he desired Mgr. Malvasia, his nuncio at Brussels, to prepare a detailed report on the

Solicitude of the Pope for Scotland.

[1] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. pp. 58, 62. *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 451 *et seq.*

condition of the Church in Scotland, and also to suggest some method for the recovery of the realm to the ancient faith. Malvasia complied with the Pope's desire by drawing up his "Discorso circa il modo che si potria tenere per ritornare nel Regno di Scotia la Religione Cattolica."[1] In this document we find treated at considerable length the grounds which afforded hope of the fulfilment of the wishes of the Holy Father, and also the means suggested to be employed, on the part of the Catholics, in order to carry them out. It is affirmed that the king is not so wedded to Calvinistic principles, but that his return to the Catholic Church is still possible. As for the nobles, or such of them as remain true to the faith, they are said to be greatly in need of pecuniary support; while it is necessary that a supply of properly trained clergy be educated abroad. It is noticeable that no encouragement is given in the report to the aggressive schemes identified with the policy of Spain: mildness and conciliation, on the contrary, are advised as the only safe and prudent path to be followed. That Clement VIII. did in fact adopt this course is evident from his subsequent acts; but unhappily no efforts on the part of the Holy See could prevail against the sanguinary intolerance of the Kirk.

Means suggested for the recovery of Scotland to the Church.

Meanwhile the opposing sections of Protestant-

[1] A translation of this interesting document will be found in Appendix VIII.

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

ism in Scotland were at open war among themselves; and the Episcopalian and Presbyterian parties in turn received the support of the fickle monarch. On the side of the Presbyterians were ranged the townsfolk, the lesser nobility, and, indeed, almost the whole weight of the national influence; and in the frequent insurrectionary movements that threatened his authority, James could not but depend greatly on the loyalty of this party, whose support, however, was only to be gained on condition that Catholicism was rigorously suppressed. Accordingly, although the king hesitated to pledge himself definitely in the matter, he nevertheless allowed the persecuting penal laws full scope. When the state of the country was tranquil, on the other hand, the whole influence of James was directed to the establishment of Episcopalianism: an institution which he favoured not so much from any fixed theological principle (such as its apparently being the divinely ordained plan for the government of the Church), as from political considerations, inasmuch as he saw in this particular system what he believed to be the best support of his throne.

Policy of the king.

His strong leaning towards the Episcopal system.

He gave evidence of his preference in every important event affecting himself or his house. The solemn coronation of Queen Anne in 1590 was, it is true, performed by a minister, but only on condition that it should include the ceremony of anointing, which the preachers denounced as

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

a rite at once Jewish, Popish, and abominably superstitious, and to which they only consented under pressure of the king's threat of sending for a bishop to officiate on the occasion.[1] Four years later the baptism of the heir to the throne was actually administered by Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, in the chapel-royal at Stirling, in spite of the vigorous protest of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.[2]

Successive enactments of Parliament in favour of Episcopalianism.

The Acts of the Parliaments which met in the years 1584, 1592, 1596, and 1600, mark successive stages in the long contest between King James and the Kirk. Andrew Melvill, the recognised Presbyterian leader, had early in the first-mentioned year fled to England, having refused to obey the orders of the Council, before which he had been summoned to answer a charge of preaching treason. The king profited by his absence to obtain the enactment, in the Parliament of the ensuing May, of several statutes favourable to his views. "The royal authority over all estates, spiritual as well as temporal, was

[1] *The Coronation of the Quenis Majestie*, p. 53. Printed by the Bannatyne Club, among the "Papers relative to the Marriage of James VI. of Scotland."

[2] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Eliz., vol. liv. No. 23. "A true reportarie of the most triumphant and royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of the most Excellent, right High and Mightie Prince Frederick Henry, by the Grace of God Prince of Scotland. Solemnized the 30th day of August 1590." (Printed by Peter Short, for the Widow Butler. To be sold at her shop under St Austin's Church.)"—TRANSLATOR.

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

confirmed; to decline the jurisdiction of the king and Council was declared to be treason; all conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, held without the sovereign's licence, were forbidden; and power was given to the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops, and other commissioners, to take order in matters ecclesiastical within their dioceses, to visit the churches and ministers of the same, to reform the colleges, and to give collation of benefices."[1] The leading ministers protested against these enactments, and then fled to Berwick. In August of the same year, Parliament, in order to ensure the proper observance of the above statutes, ordered a new formula of obedience, to be subscribed by all beneficed ministers, readers, and masters of schools.[2] The way had been prepared for the whole of these enactments by negotiations recently carried on by Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, with the Elizabethan prelates in England. He had been despatched thither by King James, with the object of conferring with the English bishops as to the best means of confirming and establishing the royal and episcopal authority in Scotland.[3]

Negotiations with the Anglican bishops.

Obstinacy of the Presbyterian party.

In spite, however, of the decrees of Parliament, the Presbyterian leaders showed little disposition

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 235. *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. iii. pp. 290-312.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotl., l. c.*

[3] Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, vol. iv. pp. 49-55, 157-167.

to yield to the inroads of prelacy. On February 9, 1589, Dr Richard Bancroft[1] delivered at Paul's Cross in London his famous sermon against Calvinism. The preacher contrasted the Book of Common Prayer with the unsettled forms of Presbyterian worship, and the beneficial rule of the English hierarchy with the extravagances of the Kirk, and did not scruple to assert that the Presbyterian tenets were opposed to Scripture, and unheard of in Christendom until the time of Calvin. Such language as this, held by a prominent Anglican prelate, and presumably sanctioned by the English queen, could not but stir up much bitter feeling in Scotland. The assertions of Bancroft were hotly contested in word and writing; and a preacher named Davidson printed, in 1590, a tract in reply, to which Bancroft promptly rejoined by the publication of two dissertations maintaining his former views.[2] Meanwhile the leaders of the Kirk deemed the

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

Dr Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 1589.

[1] Canon of Westminster, and afterwards successively bishop of London (1597-1604) and archbishop of Canterbury (1604-1610). He was a man of learning, and deserves credit for the efforts which he made to mitigate the popular violence against the English Catholics after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Hacket (*Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 97) says in his praise that "he knew a pastoral staff was made to reduce a wandering sheep, not to knock it down."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, vol. i. pp. 469-520. Bancroft's two tracts were entitled respectively, "A survey of the pretended holy Discipline;" and "Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within this island of Britain, under Pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline."

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

moment favourable for striking a more active blow in their own cause. James, owing to the troubles caused by the young Earl of Bothwell, and the suspicions that had fallen on himself respecting the murder of the "good" Earl of Moray, was disposed to make some concessions to the Presbyterians; and they were able in consequence to regain, in the Parliament of 1592, a good deal of what they had lost eight years before.[1] Melvill, however, did not succeed in gaining all that his party hoped for: the Second Book of Discipline (his own work) did not receive the sanction of Parliament: the bishops and other prelates retained all their parliamentary rights, and the law respecting ecclesiastical patronage was expressly confirmed.[2]

Privileges of the Kirk partly restored 1592.

The friction between the two religious parties in the country, which no legislation seemed able to subdue, was greatly increased in the month of October 1596, by a violent sermon preached by David Black, a minister of St Andrews. In the course of his discourse the preacher denounced Queen Elizabeth as an atheist, and the religion of England as an empty show: Satan, he said, was the head both of Court and Council; all kings were devils' bairns; the Lords of Session were miscreants; the nobles cormorants; and the queen a woman from whom it was vain to hope for any

Violent discourse by David Black, 1596.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 315, 316.

[2] Grub, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 261.

good thing.[1] Black was summoned before the Council to answer for his words, but refused to appear; the committee of preachers sitting in Edinburgh supported his action, and were forthwith ordered by royal proclamation to disperse. After an unsuccessful attempt to incite the citizens to rise in their behalf, they appealed to Lord Hamilton, next heir to the throne after Prince Henry, to place himself at their head. Hamilton, however, laid their letter before the king, who had meanwhile signified his displeasure by ordering the courts of law to remove from the metropolis, and himself quitting his palace at Holyrood, to which he did not return until the beginning of the following year.[2]

Conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

Seditious behaviour of the preachers.

These events, as may be imagined, did not tend to reconcile James to the pretensions of the Kirk; and the sanction given by the ministers to the audacious conspiracy of Gowrie, who, in August 1600, lost his life in an attempt to capture the king's person and seize upon the government,[3] still further widened the gulf. James had, however, some months previously succeeded in securing the establishment of Episcopacy as

[1] *State Papers* (Scotl.), Elizabeth, vol. lix. No. 66, iii. "Effect of the information given against Mr David Black for uttering some infamous words in his sermons against her Majesty and the religion professed in England:" Nov. 1595.

[2] Calderwood, *op. cit.*, vol. v. pp. 447-536. Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. pp. 13 *et seq.*

[3] For full details of the Gowrie plot, see Tytler, *History*, vol. iv. pp. 276-297.

Establishment of Episcopalianism, March 1600.

the authorised form of church government. The General Assembly which met at Montrose on March 28, 1600, conceded to the king the right of nominating each bishop from a list of six names submitted by the Kirk. In order to provide against any abuse of their authority by the new dignitaries, certain *caveats* or conditions were imposed, the principal being that they were to give an account of their stewardship to the Kirk at every meeting of the Assembly. James on his side, satisfied with having gained his main point,

Titles of the new prelates.

agreed that they should be styled commissioners, instead of being known by the obnoxious title of bishops. The feelings with which the more rigid Presbyterians viewed this new departure, may be gathered from the words of their own historian. "Thus," writes Calderwood, "the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in, covered with *caveats*, that the danger might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many and opponed unto; considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door, than to have an eye unto them in the house, that they steal not: and indeed, the event declared that their fear was not without just cause; for the commissioners voters in Parliament, afterwards bishops, did violate their *caveats* as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith he was bound." [1]

[1] Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, p. 441.

Publication of the 'Basilikon Doron.'

The last year of the sixteenth century was signalised by the appearance of King James as an author, his celebrated treatise on government, the 'Basilikon Doron,' addressed to his son, the Prince of Wales, having been published in the course of 1599. Melvill had previously succeeded in procuring a copy of the manuscript, certain passages of which he laid before the Presbytery of St Andrews at their next meeting, without any allusion to the authorship. The synod promptly declared the passages in question (which strongly maintained the ecclesiastical authority of the king) to be impious, treasonable, and seditious. James was highly offended, and took immediate, but ineffectual, steps to trace out and punish the author of this act of presumption ;[1] meanwhile, to silence unpleasant rumours, he deemed it prudent to publish the whole work forthwith, and it accordingly appeared very shortly afterwards. The royal author first lays down the principle that every good government must be founded on justice and religion, and proceeds to show that the best possible religion is that at present established in Scotland. The assertion appears a singular one, when we remember the precarious footing which Presby-

[1] Mr Dikes, an obscure minister of Anstruther, was accused and convicted of having laid the obnoxious document on the table of Assembly, and was in consequence proclaimed a rebel. (See Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. p. 81.)—Translator.

terianism had yet obtained in the country, the king's own very dubious adherence to that form of belief, and his frequent collisions with its foremost representatives in Scotland. A criticism of the work, which appeared in Rome shortly after its publication, pointed out with justice that the religious system advocated by James appeared to be a medley of all the erroneous ideas of the time, such as would be naturally entertained by men who subordinate religion to their own views, instead of submitting their views to religion.[1] Prince Henry is referred to the text of Holy Scripture, just as if its sense and meaning were clear and undisputed, and did not itself require an authorised interpreter. Notwithstanding the fundamental errors which characterise the work, it displays, nevertheless, considerable learning, and in certain parts bears remarkable testimony to Catholic truth.[2] Taken as a whole, however, it cannot but convey the impression that, while

Contemporary criticism of the work.

Its general character.

[1] Lämmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, p. 261. *Codex Corsin.*, 680, foll. 54 *et seq.* "Ma quanto alla somma del tratatto, tutto siccome è molto erudito et dotto et maraviglioso per un Rè, cosi la sostanza di tutta questa dottrina politica che egli mette inanzi al figliulo per regola del governo che ha da tenere nel suo Regno, pare che sia apunto una fabrica magnifica et bella, si, ma locata nell' arena, per non dire nell'aria, et senza alcuno stabile fundamento."

[2] In the British Museum (Julius F. vi. f. 142) is an interesting letter (quoted by Tytler, *Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 309) from F. Persons, S.J., mentioning that the Pope, on hearing read certain portions of the king's book, could hardly refrain from shedding tears of joy. "May Jesus Christ," adds Persons, "make him a Catholic! for he would be a mirror to all the princes of Christendom."—TRANSLATOR.

James had a more or less intimate acquaintance with every form of religious error, the true teaching of the Catholic Church was practically a sealed book to him.[1] Perhaps the most striking passages in the treatise are those which comment on the character of the great religious movement of the time, and of its recognised champions. The Scottish Reformation is described as the offspring of tumult and rebellion, and its leaders as "fiery and seditious spirits, who delighted to rule as tribunes of the people," who had brought about the wreck of two queens, and, during a long minority, had invariably placed themselves at the head of every faction which weakened and distracted the country. "Take heed, therefore, my son," the writer goes on, "to such Puritans, very pests in the Church and commonweal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason. I protest before the great God, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries than with these fanatic spirits."[2] Yet it was these men who were the chosen leaders of Scottish Protestantism, and whose

James VI. on the Scottish Reformation and its leaders.

[1] See Gretser, 'Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, sive Commentarius exegeticus in Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Jacobi Præfationem monitoriam, et in Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis,' tom. vii.

[2] 'Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, sive Regis Institutio ad Henricum Principem' (Hanoviæ, 1608), p. 89.

one aim was to impress upon the ecclesiastical system of the country the stamp of their own democratic and revolutionary opinions.

Religious state of Scotland at the close of the sixteenth century.

We have now arrived at the close of the sixteenth century. Nine-and-thirty years had elapsed since the wreck of the ancient Church: the Catholic episcopate had been suppressed, the clergy were all but extinct, the property of the Church had been squandered away or assigned to the preachers of the new religion. The legislation of the State and the excommunications of the Kirk had beaten down with merciless severity every effort for the restoration of the ancient faith. The shell of the Church alone remained: her spirit had, as it seemed, fled for ever. The reforming nobles of Scotland had faithfully fulfilled their pledges of thirty years before,[1] and were now fattening on the wealth of the Church which they had despoiled.[2] And yet, so closely and intimately had the old religion been interwoven with the life of the nation at large, that even now, long after the work of the Reformation, the ancient framework in great measure still survived.[3] But

[1] *Regist. of Privy Counc.*, vol. i. p. 536 (Articles of the Kirk, July 25, 1567). "Item, the Nobilitie, Baronis, and utheris of the Kirk, in the presens of God hes faythfullie promeist . . . . to rute out, distroy and allutirlie subvert all monumentis of ydolatre, and namelie the odious and blasphemous mess," &c.

[2] For some account of the lay possessors of the temporalities of the Scottish Episcopal sees, see Spelman, *Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege* (ed. 1888), pp. 262-264.

[3] *Regist. of Privy Counc.*, vol. iii. Introduct., p. xxi. "Not only

it was animated by a new spirit and a new influence; and the rising generation of Scotsmen were dependent, alike for the education of their children and for their own spiritual guidance, on the ministrations of their Presbyterian teachers. The historian is at this stage justified in inquiring what manner of fruit was being produced as the result of the religious revolution, which had overthrown the old religion, on the plea of bringing about a true reform. On the one hand, we have the assertion of the Presbyterian historian that "the Church of Scotland was now [in 1596] come to her perfection, and the greatest purity that she ever attained unto, both in doctrine and discipline, so that her beauty was admirable to foreign churches." On the other, we have the dismal picture, drawn this very year, in the words of the General Assembly itself, of what the religious and moral state of Scotland really was. "An universal coldness, want of zeal, ignorance,

Practical results of the Reformation.

were ex-bishops walking about, still called bishops, and holding their old temporalities; not only were the old abbacies and priories perpetuated in a number of so-called 'commendatorships,' distributed among the new Protestant nobles or Protestant lairds, without any other function attached to them than that of managing the old ecclesiastical properties and drawing the revenues; not only did these great laymen figure constantly, by their mere ecclesiastical titles, as Commendator of A, of B, &c., ... but one is puzzled for many years after the Reformation by encountering deans, canons, prebendaries, monks, convents of monks, and even 'rectors' and 'parsons,' who turn out to be no spiritual persons at all, but only remanent waifs of the old system, or lay successors to some of its benefices."

contempt of the Word; prayer, singing of psalms, and the Word of God profaned and abused; superstition and idolatry entertained; blaspheming of God's name; swearing, banning, and cursing; profanation of the Sabbath by working, journeying, trysting, gaming, dancing, drinking, fishing, killing, and milling; inferiors not doing duty to superiors; children having pleas of law against their parents, and marrying without their consent; breaches of duty betwixt married persons; great bloodshed; deadly feuds, and assisting bloodshedders to elude the laws; fornications, adulteries, incests, unlawful marriages, and divorcements; excessive drinking and gluttony; filthy and impure speeches and songs; sacrilege in all estates growing daily, to the utter undoing of the Kirk; cruel oppression of the poor; thraldom in service; oppression by usury; lying; universal neglect of justice; judges, ignorant and profane. Through the abusing, delaying, perverting, neglecting of justice, murder, oppression, adultery, incest, and all horrible crimes abound. Besides the kirks in Argyll and the Isles, there are above four hundred kirks wanting ministers, whereby the people perish in ignorance, atheism, and profanity."[1]

[1] Row, *Hist. of the Kirk*, pp. 172-174. "A more frightful state of corruption in a Christian nation," remarks Mr Grub (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 269), "has hardly ever been recorded; and making every

With such a picture as this before his eyes, a sagacious observer, such as Father John Hay, might well pen the words which we find in a letter addressed by him to King James about this time. No one, he writes, who compared the present condition of the realm, after forty years of Calvinism, with what it was in the days of his pious grandfather, James V., could refrain from tears of sorrow: the laws are of no effect; murder and every sort of crime reign triumphant; and piety and the fear of God are driven from the land.[1] Nay, Protestant historians themselves, who glorify the Reformation as the epoch of civil and religious liberty, have characterised it in the same breath as a political

reasonable allowance for the exaggeration and mere words of form, not unusual in such documents, the general faithfulness of the picture is attested by other writings of the time." Cf. Calderwood, *Historie*, vol. v. pp. 409-411.

[1] Record Office, Ex Archiv., S.J., in Urbe. Ad Jacobum VI. Scotiæ Regem. "Pestilentissimos Calvini errores, ubique disseminandi, qui annis circiter quadraginta sic universam Scotiam sunt pervagati, ut qui de ejus statu viventi avo tuo Jacobo V. piisimo principe cogitando recordentur, et nunc eandem oculis intuentur suis, lacrimas tenere præ mærore non possint. Ubique legum ædificiorumque ruinæ, cædes, libidines, fœnera, fraudes, et alia id genus mala regnant. Exulat vero pietas, timor Dei cernitur nullus, magistratus etiam summi a Calvini proceribus audire et ferre, quæ vir probus in Christi schola doctus (ea est ministrorum Scotiæ licentia) de nefariis sceleratissimisque latronibus dicere perhorresceret . . . ." The letter, which concludes by imploring the king to put an end to this state of things, is dated "Antwerpiæ, Kal. Januar., A.D. 1598. Majestatis Tuæ humillimus et obsequentissimus servus Johannes Hayus."

experiment in the highest degree questionable, and have admitted and deplored the fatal blow which it inflicted on the two great principles of faith and obedience, so essential to the stable government of human society.[1]

[1] See Massey, *Hist. of England during the Reign of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 40. "To believe and to obey are the guiding perspicuities of men; and the principle of the Reformation was to subvert authority, and to substitute reason as the arbiter of questions of the utmost moment to the temporal as well as the eternal welfare of the great human family."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE UNION OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH CROWNS TO THE DEATH OF JAMES VI. (1603-1625).

Death of Queen Elizabeth, March 24, 1603.

On March 24, 1603, Queen Elizabeth of England expired at Richmond, after a reign of close upon forty-five years. "In the world's judgment," says an Anglican writer, — a judgment sometimes reversed, — "she was the greatest and most renowned of the rulers of England. Her temporal success, her victorious wars, and her determined policy, had made this country more potent than heretofore. Posterity, it is assumed, has ratified the judgment of the world."[1] The Christian historian, it need hardly be said, must estimate far differently the character of the last of the Tudors. From his point of view, she appears but as a guilty woman, who had deliberately robbed the nation of its most precious treasure, and inflicted upon it unspeakable misery. The repulsive portrait of her drawn by a contemporary pen, and endorsed by the clear-sighted

[1] Lee, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 339.

Cardinal Allen,[1] is more than borne out by the verdict of a brilliant modern writer, whose sympathies are entirely with the cause of which she was the champion. "Her unlucky, *it may almost be called culpable*, attachment to Leicester," writes Mr Froude,[2] "made marriage unconquerably distasteful to her. . . . Circumstances more than choice threw her originally on the side of the Reformation. . . . For these reasons, and not from any sympathy with the views either of Luther or Calvin, she chose her party at her accession." To her latest hour Elizabeth remained true to the principles which she had deliberately adopted at the opening of her long reign. But even in this world she was not to escape some share of remorse for the work of her life; and history presents us with no more terrible picture than that of the dying agonies, physical and mental, of England's once mighty queen.[3]

Elizabeth was dead, and her crown and sceptre

[1] "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present warres made for the execution of his holines sentence, by the highe and mightie king Catholicke of Spaine, by the Cardinal of Englande, 1588." The portion of the tract relating to Queen Elizabeth is printed by Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. vi., Appendix, pp. 706-708), who adds that Allen, although probably not the writer, made himself responsible for the contents by subscribing his name to the work.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *History of England*, vol. xii. p. 505.

[3] See the account of Elizabeth's last hours in Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. vii. pp. 284 *et seq.* The details are chiefly taken from the MS. narrative of Lady Southwell, one of the queen's immediate attendants.

had passed into the possession of James VI. of Scotland. On Sunday, April 3, 1603, the King of Scots took leave of his northern subjects in the church of St Giles at Edinburgh. He himself delivered to them a farewell address, in which he commended their loyalty to his person, and expressed the hope that the political junction of the two countries prefigured a union likewise in matters of religion.[1] Two days later the king and queen, with their three children, set out for England, and on the 6th of May entered London amid the acclamations of the people.[2] On July the 25th the royal pair were solemnly crowned and anointed at Westminster Abbey by the archbishop of Canterbury. The occasion was a memorable one. The object which had been the cherished aim of so many English monarchs, in pursuit of which so much blood had been shed and so much diplomatic craft had been displayed, was now attained by the peaceful union of the two crowns in the single person of James Stuart. The acknowledged King of England through his great-grandmother Margaret Tudor, wife of

King James's farewell to his Scottish subjects.

His coronation at Westminster.

[1] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. p. 138.

[2] It is not without interest to note that on April 24th, while the king was actually on his progress to London, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, the last member of the ancient hierarchy (for Bishop Chisholm had been translated to his French see twenty years before) died at Paris in his eighty-sixth year. He had first seen the light four years after the fatal day of Flodden, and he survived to witness the peaceful union of the English and Scottish crowns nearly a century later.—TRANSLATOR.

James IV., he had inherited the Scottish crown direct from Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret, and so was the representative alike of the Celtic and the Saxon lines.

The ecclesiastical question in England and Scotland.

Thus firmly established in his new position, the king was ardently desirous that the political union of the two kingdoms should be accompanied by a corresponding assimilation in the form of their ecclesiastical government. The question which pressed for immediate solution was, of course, to which of the two systems—the Scottish Presbyterian or the English Episcopalian—should the preference be given? The king's own antecedents were in favour of the latter; and his prelatical leanings were not likely to be weakened by the transference of his Court to London. In the view of the Anglican divines, the episcopal order was not only an integral but an essential element in the due government of the Church; and it was to be expected that they would profit by this opportunity to endeavour to impose a similar constitution to their own on their fellow-Protestants in Scotland. Nor was such a policy likely to be less warmly advocated when it became known that the Scottish Presbyterians, on their side, were at least equally desirous of seeing the Anglican Church adopt the democratic principles of ecclesiastical government which they affected themselves.[1]

[1] Row, *Historie of the Kirk*, pp. 220 *et seq.*, narrates the steps taken

The English Puritans, who were presumably less acquainted than the Presbyterians of Scotland with the king's personal views, naturally founded considerable hopes on a monarch who came to them from a country where Episcopacy was hardly more than a civil institution. They looked forward to being freed by his means from the tyranny of the Anglican hierarchy and the Anglican liturgy; but their expectations, no less than these of the Presbyterians, were doomed to disappointment. The effect of the conference, held at Hampton Court in January 1604, was to show that James was resolved to maintain the established church of England in its integrity. The king took an early opportunity of expressing before Parliament his ecclesiastical views. He laid special stress on his anxiety to preserve unity in the Church, and concluded by declaring that his faith being grounded on Scripture, and therefore catholic and apostolic, he would be ready in all religious questions to defer to Christian antiquity, and thus to keep himself from heresy and schism.[1]

Hopes of the English Puritans.

Their disappointment.

James's ecclesiastical policy, as far as concerned Scotland, was now directed to two principal points: the nomination of suitable persons to the vacant bishoprics, and the issue of new

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

"for the effectuating of that good purpose of reduceing Ingland to Presbyteriall governement."

[1] Collier, *Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain* (ed. 1714), vol. ii. p. 686.

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

regulations for the guidance of the General Assembly. He had taken steps to carry out the first of these measures even before his coronation at Westminster, having by letters, dated from Hampton Court, July 20, 1603, named James Spottiswood as successor to Archbishop James Beaton in the see of Glasgow. Beaton is styled in the document the "late lawful archbishop"; and its whole tenor, as Mr Grub has well remarked,[1] "shows how completely the office was viewed as a civil dignity—to be bestowed indeed in time to come, as provided by the laws, on Protestant ministers only, but capable, in itself, of being held by a Catholic prelate." Spottiswood, who became the chief counsellor of the king in matters ecclesiastical, was thus constituted the father of the new hierarchy introduced by James into his northern kingdom. The filling up of other vacant sees followed shortly afterwards.

Appointment of the first Anglican archbishop of Glasgow, July 1603.

Agitation in the Kirk.

It was to be expected that these decided measures would cause no slight agitation among the leaders of the Kirk; and this feeling was not slow in making itself felt. The Assembly had been appointed to meet in July 1604, but when the time arrived it was ordered by the king's command to adjourn for a year. On the appointed day, however, James Melvill and two other ministers met in St Nicholas's Church, Aber-

The Assembly forbidden to meet.

[1] Grub, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 283.

deen, and formally disclaimed all responsibility of any loss incurred by the Church in consequence of the postponement. In July 1605, the Assembly was again forbidden to sit; but in spite of the prohibition a number of the ministers held a meeting at Aberdeen, the result being that Forbes (who had been chosen moderator), and several others, were apprehended and imprisoned at Blackness. This act of severity at once gave rise to a warm discussion on the important question of the king's power to forbid to the Assembly the right of meeting. An elaborate treatise on the subject was published by Melvill, under the title of 'An Apology for the Prisoners of the Lord Jesus presently in the Castle of Blackness;' and the matter was brought to a crisis by the public declaration of the offending preachers, that while they recognised the authority of the king acting together with the Assembly, they absolutely denied his separate jurisdiction, as well as that of his Council, in spiritual matters. Forbes and his companions were detained in prison for many months, awaiting the king's pleasure, which was finally signified in the form of a sentence of perpetual banishment, under pain of death if they presumed to return to Scotland.[1]

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

Sentence on the refractory ministers.

By way of further enforcing his own views on his Scottish subjects, James summoned to London, in the autumn of 1606, the archbishops of Glas-

[1] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. pp. 157-182.

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

gow and St Andrews, and the bishops of Orkney and Galloway, together with the two Melvills and several other ministers, in order to assist at

Conferences at Hampton Court, 1606.

a series of ecclesiastical conferences held at Hampton Court. The Presbyterian divines were compelled to attend a course of sermons advocating episcopal authority, the supremacy of the Crown, and similar tenets; and this ill-advised proceeding, as might have been expected, only increased their distaste for Anglicanism and all its works. So bitter indeed did their feelings become, that Andrew Melvill, who was summoned before the Council on account of some satirical verses[1] which he had written in reference to the service in the

Violent behaviour of Melvill.

royal chapel, at last lost all command over himself. He shook the archbishop of Canterbury by his lawn sleeves, which he called Romish rags, and denounced him as the encourager of Popery and superstition, profaner of the Sabbath, and persecutor of faithful ministers. The result of this out-

[1] The epigram in question was expressive of the holy horror caused in the breasts of Melvill and his friends by what they saw in the king's chapel on St Michael's Day—viz., a Popish altar, displaying two closed books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted tapers. The lines are given in the *Melvini Musæ* (4°, 1620), p. 24, as follows :—

"Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
Lamina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam?"

Dempster (*Histor. Eccles.*, p. 498) quotes the first four lines, but omits the concluding distich.—TRANSLATOR.

burst was the committal of Melvill to the Tower, where he remained for more than three years.[1]

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

James had by this time apparently resolved to make no further concessions to Presbyterianism, with whose support he probably now deemed himself strong enough to dispense. Accordingly, in the Scottish Parliament, which met in June 1609, the bishops received power to re-erect their consistorial courts, and the king was authorised to issue regulations as to the official dress to be worn by the clergy.[2] An order was shortly afterwards made directing black gowns to be worn by ministers in the pulpit. A few months later (in February 1610) Courts of High Commission were established by the royal authority in each of the archiepiscopal provinces, and were endowed with extensive jurisdiction. They had powers to summon before them all classes of offenders, and to punish them with fine and imprisonment, and also with excommunication. "The Presbyterian form of church government," remarks Grub,[3] "was now in reality subverted, although the name and outward appearance remained the same." All that still remained was to impress upon the new

Powers restored to the episcopate by Parliament;

[1] Spottiswood (*History*, vol. iii. p. 183) describes Melvill's conduct on this occasion as "more like that of a madman than a divine."

[2] *Acts of Parliam. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. p. 435. The Act ordains that "all priors, abbots, and bishops having vote in Parliament, and specially bishops, shall wear grave and decent apparel agreeable to their functions."—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 292.

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

and by the General Assembly.

constitution the stamp of the approval of the highest ecclesiastical authority recognised by the majority of the people. The General Assembly, accordingly, was convened at Glasgow on June 8, 1610; and with the archbishop as its moderator, proceeded to confer upon the new prelates powers of various kinds, and of even wider and more comprehensive scope than those which had formerly been possessed by the Catholic episcopate. At the close of the proceedings, the Earl of Dunbar, the king's commissioner, distributed the sum of five thousand pounds Scots among the moderators of the various presbyteries, by way of testifying his majesty's approval of the support which they had given to the measures he had recommended.[1]

Consecration of the Scottish prelates in London, 1610.

One thing was yet wanting to the new hierarchy—namely, the episcopal consecration according to the Anglican form. The king accordingly summoned to London the archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishops of Brechin and Galloway, in the autumn of 1610, and informed them that they were to be consecrated forthwith. It was suggested by Dr Andrews, bishop of Ely, that as the Scottish prelates were mere laymen, it might be advisable to begin by ordaining them priests. This reasonable proposal, however, was overruled

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 587-589. Spottiswood, *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 207. The latter author discredits the current belief that the money was given for the purpose mentioned; but there can be little doubt that it was so intended.—TRANSLATOR.

as unnecessary under the circumstances; and as time pressed, the three bishops-elect were consecrated on October 21, 1610, in the chapel of London House, according to the Anglican ordinal—the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester performing the ceremony.[1] The result of this singular proceeding of course was, that whereas Anglicanism recognises as essential the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, the unfortunate Church of Scotland had to content herself with the episcopate only. It was certainly remarkable that the religious body specially distinguished by the name of *Presbyterian* should have thus continued destitute of every semblance of priestly orders; and not less so that James should have been under the impression that the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland was now exactly assimilated to that of the Anglican Church. There were, in truth, many and essential differences between them; but at the same time, it must not be forgotten that, when traced to their source, they had one fundamental characteristic in common—for both alike were the creatures of the civil power.

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

During the next few years of his reign, James gave many proofs of his paternal solicitude for the institution which he had been at such pains

Solicitude of the king for the new institution.

[1] Spottiswood, *Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 208, 209. Wilkins (*Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 443) gives the royal letters patent authorising the consecration, and the archbishop of Canterbury's mandate.—TRANSLATOR.

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

to establish in Scotland. From time to time he issued various regulations to the bishops bearing on questions of diocesan government; and in the Parliament which met in October 1612, the new form of oath of obedience to the ordinary, to be taken by every minister, was formally sanctioned.[1] The royal theologian also devoted much attention to the question of an amended Confession of Faith, as well as an authorised liturgy, which he was desirous of seeing introduced into the Scottish Church. By the year 1616, the new Confession was ready for presentation to the General Assembly, and received the approbation of that body. Its main features were in agreement with those of the previous Confession; the chief point of difference being in the enunciation of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, which was brought forward with considerably more prominence than in the old formulary. The king about this time expressed his wish to see five articles adopted by the Scottish Church, the effect of which would be to attach much greater importance than heretofore to the sacraments. These articles prescribed kneeling at the reception of communion (standing being then, as now, the posture authorised by the Kirk), the administration of communion to the sick, baptism in private houses, in cases of necessity, the observance of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Saviour, and the

The amended Confession.

The five articles.

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. iv. pp. 469, 470.

Descent of the Holy Ghost, and also the rite of Confirmation.[1] The restoration of these practices was opposed by many of the ministers; and the archbishop of St Andrews formally protested against it. The king withdrew them for the time, but in August 1618, they were adopted by the Assembly, and immediately afterwards ratified by the Privy Council.[2]

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

In the year 1617, James resolved to visit his northern kingdom,[3] in order to witness, and if necessary confirm by his presence, the progress of the new ecclesiastical organisation in that country. Extensive preparations were made for his reception, and the king on his side was evidently determined to show the importance he attached to the external forms of Anglican worship. By his order, complete fittings were sent from London for the chapel-royal at Holyrood;[4] and on his

Visit of James to Scotland, 1617.

[1] The articles are given *in extenso* by Spottiswood (*History*, vol. iii. pp. 255, 256).

[2] The Assembly of 1618, which met at Perth, was the last permitted to be held until the memorable one at Glasgow, in 1638, which excommunicated and deposed the bishops, and began the Covenanting war. The records of the Perth Assembly unfortunately perished in the burning of the House of Parliament in 1834; but the archbishop of St Andrews' sermon, preached on the occasion, has been preserved, and is printed in the *Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. i. pp. 65-87.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] According to Spottiswood (*op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 238), the king, in his letter to the Council announcing his intention, spoke characteristically of "the longing, or *salmon-like instinct*, he had to return to the place of his breeding."—TRANSLATOR.

[4] The London carpenters brought with them, we are told, "the portraits of the apostles, to be set in the pews or stalls"—a proceed-

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

progress to Scotland he was attended by a number of English prelates and divines, including the bishop of Ely, and Laud, the future archbishop of Canterbury, then dean of Gloucester. Parliament met soon after his arrival in Scotland; and an act was proposed empowering the king to issue, with the advice of the bishops, what regulations he pleased for the government of the Church. A minister named Calderwood, among others, strongly protested against this measure; and James did not think it beneath his dignity to enter into a personal dispute with him on the subject. The royal eloquence, however, was no match for the obstinacy of the preacher, who was promptly deprived, imprisoned, and ordered to leave the country.[1] Another act of this Parliament provided for the restoration of their property (as far as it could be recovered) to the cathedral chapters; and this was followed, a year or two later, by the issue of an authorised ordinal, drawn up on almost identical lines with that of the Anglican prayer-book. While the ecclesiastical policy of James was thus triumphant in Scotland, one of his foremost opponents was removed by death, in the person of Andrew Melvill, who expired in the year 1622, at

Conflict between the king and the preachers.

Death of Andrew Melvill.

ing which gave great offence to the Kirk, and led to the retort from the king, that "they could endure lions, dragons, and devils to be figured in their churches, but would not allow the like place to the patriarchs or apostles."—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Calderwood, vol. vii. pp. 249-282. Spottiswood, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 247.

Sedan, where he had been professor of divinity for fifteen years.[1] The principal opposition which the king met with in carrying out his plans was excited by the promulgation of the articles of the Perth Assembly, especially that which prescribed kneeling at the communion. Severe punishments were inflicted on persons convicted of stirring up popular feeling on the subject; but the king found more powerful support for his views in the co-operation of Dr Forbes, a leading minister in Edinburgh, and a divine of considerable learning, who held opinions of the most advanced kind on most of the religious questions of the day.[2]

James's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland.

Meanwhile it might perhaps be supposed that, at a time when Presbyterianism seemed on the verge of dissolution, under the adverse influence of the Crown, the adherents of the ancient Church, which had never ceased to venerate the episcopal office, would at least have found some measure of toleration and indulgence at the hands of the king. Such, however, was not the case. Notwithstanding all the efforts, both of the Pope and of the Scottish missionaries, the condition of the Catholics of Scotland showed as yet no signs of amelioration.

Condition of the Scottish Catholics.

[1] Irving, *Scotish Writers*, vol. i. p. 207.

[2] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. pp. 268, 269. Forbes was appointed in 1634 first bishop of the new Anglican see of Edinburgh (formed out of the archdeaconry of Lothian), but died a few months later. He appears to have been a man of erudition and piety.—Translator.

Subjection of the clergy to the English arch-priest, 1598.

In the year 1598, the secular clergy on the Scottish mission were placed under the jurisdiction of George Blackwell, the newly appointed arch-priest for England. The appointment was made by a letter of Cardinal Cajetan, Protector of England, dated March 7, 1598;[1] and six persons were at the same time nominated as assistants to Blackwell, who was authorised himself to name six others. In April of the following year, the act of the Cardinal was confirmed by a brief of Pope Clement VIII.[2] The measure was not altogether acceptable to the Scotch missionaries; and it was probably partly on account of this feeling that the Pope, in the year 1600, carried out a project which he had long had at heart—namely, the formation of a Scotch College in the capital of the Christian world. By his bull—*In supremo militantis Ecclesiæ*—dated December 5, 1600, he duly erected the new institute for the education of Scottish ecclesiastical students, assigned to it a house opposite the (now demolished) Church of S. Maria di Constantinopoli,[3] and bestowed upon it

Foundation of the Scotch College, Rome, 1600.

[1] Tierney, *Dodd's Church Hist.*, vol. iii. Append., p. cxix. "Nos, Sanctitatis suæ piissimam providentissimamque voluntatem sequentes, hoc ipsum statuere decrevimus: atque, pro iis quidem sacerdotibus . . . qui in Angliæ Scotiæve regnis in præsentia versantur, vel in posterum eo venturi sunt, dum hæc nostra ordinatio duraverit, te delegimus, cui vices nostras pro tempore delegamus."

[2] The text of the brief in Tierney, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. Append., p. cxxviii.

[3] The college was removed to its present site in 1604. The church was built by the Marchioness of Huntly in 1644; and twenty

the abbacy of S. Elias di Melicania, in Calabria, and a small vineyard at the gate of S. Sebastian. In the following year the college received the gift of another house, near the Trevi Fountain, and in 1603 was further endowed with the abbacy of S. Menna, in the Neapolitan town of Sta. Agata dei Goti.[1] The college was opened in 1602, with eleven students, Mgr. Paolini being the first superior, while Cardinal Borghese, afterwards Pope Paul V., was named as protector. On the accession of Paul to the papal throne, he appointed as protector Maffeo Barberini, archbishop of Nazareth, and former nuncio at Paris, who had been recently raised to the cardinalate. The Scotch students attended the Jesuit schools in the Roman College, and took frequent and successful part in its public exercises. Paolini was succeeded as rector by Father Patrick Anderson, a distinguished son of St Ignatius, and nephew of Bishop Leslie of Ross; and he at once drew up an admirable code of rules for the government and proper discipline of the college.

Similar efforts had been made nearer home, many years previous to the foundation of the college at Rome, to secure a succession of

years later the college acquired the country residence at Marino, which it still retains.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Bullarium Romanum* (Turin edit.), tom. x. pp. 625-630. There had been, long before the Reformation, a Scotch Hospitium in Rome, attached to the Church of S. Andrea delle Fratte. In 1605, its remaining property was incorporated in the newly founded Scotch College.

labourers in the Scottish mission. As early as 1576, Dr James Cheyne,[1] formerly parish priest of Aboyne, and afterwards canon of Tournai and professor of theology at Douai, founded at Tournai a small seminary for his countrymen.[2] Shortly afterwards, consequent (as is probable) on the representations made by order of Queen Elizabeth to the Spanish authorities, the college was transferred to Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine, where it was administered by Father Edmund Hay, Father Christie, and other members of the Society of Jesus. Queen Mary, writing to Archbishop Beaton, June 1, 1576, had promised to contribute towards the support of the establishment;[3] but it was not until nearly six years afterwards that she announced her intention of granting it an annual pension of twelve hundred francs,[4] which she afterwards increased

Seminary founded by Dr Cheyne at Tournai, 1576.

Endowment granted by Queen Mary.

[1] Cheyne was of good family, being brother to the laird of Arnage, in Buchan.

[2] Stuart, Preface to *Blakhal's Narrative*, p. xxvi. Gordon, *Scoti-chronicon*, vol. iv. p. 90. Authorities differ as to the original site of the college. Dr Forbes (see *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864, p. 198) mentions Louvain; while Tierney (*Dodd's Church Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 124, note) cites both the report of Mgr. Malvasia in 1596, and the words of Pope Clement himself in a brief of 1594, in proof that the college was first established at Pont-à-Mousson. The statement in the text, however, appears to be the generally accepted version.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] "Je pourvoirai aussi au seminaire de Cheyne," are the Queen's words.—TRANSLATOR.

[4] "Mon intention est de subvenir au seminaire Ecossois d'une pension ordinaire de douze cens francs par an." Bishop Kyle's MS., quoted by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 124).

to four hundred gold crowns. Pope Gregory XIII. was also, as we have already seen,[1] a considerable benefactor to the college; but the pension granted by him, and also by Queen Mary, ceased with their lives.[2] The loss thus sustained, however, was partly made up in 1593, when William Meldrum, precentor of Aberdeen Cathedral, founded four burses in the college, of the value of eighty-seven florins, on the condition that in the event of Scotland becoming again Catholic, they should be transferred to the University of Aberdeen. We may also mention as benefactors to the establishment John Wemyss, chaplain of our Lady's Church at Bruges, and John Grier, canon of St Peter's, Anderleb, near Brussels. In 1593, it was thought necessary, for the sake of a more salubrious climate, and also on account of the troubles consequent on the wars, to remove the college from Pont-à-Mousson to Douai; and Pope Clement took occasion to write letters recommending the institution to the charitable support of the neighbouring Catholics.[3] Three years later it was again transplanted, this time to Louvain; but its resources were now for

The college transferred to Douai, 1593.

[1] See *ante*, p. 252.

[2] *Barberini MS.*, xxxii. fol. 232 (Jesuit Report, 1594). "Sed quod magna commiseratione est dignum, etsi omnia ibi alba sunt ad messem, *postquam mussipontani reditus a Sixto Quinto sublati sunt*, desunt messores, qui ad messem Domini colligendum mittantur."

[3] "Literæ hortatoriæ Ssmi. D. N. Clementis VIII.; Pro Seminario Scotorum Duaci." Rome, February 17, 1593.

various reasons so much reduced, that it was unable to maintain more than seven or eight students. Mgr. Malvasia, in transmitting to the Pope at this period the report of which we have already spoken, speaks of this unfortunate condition of affairs, adding that in all Scotland there were not at the time of his writing more than four or five priests.[1] Although Clement himself, who was just then engaged in the foundation of the Scotch College at Rome, was unable to assist the older seminary, he nevertheless ordered the arrears of a pension from the bishopric of Cassano, due to the late bishop of Ross, to be paid to his nephew John Leslie, on condition of his sharing it with the college at Louvain.[2] About the same time the Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria presented the institution with two hundred florins; and Dr Cheyne, the founder, who died in 1602, constituted it his universal legatee.[3] From Louvain the college was once more, in 1609, moved

Benefactors of the college.

[1] "Nella qual cosa si procede al presente con tanta tepidezza, che in tutta la Scotia non si trovano più che quattro over cinque sacerdoti." See Appendix VIII.

[2] Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 125, note) says very positively that this is the "origin of the story of money bequeathed by the bishop of Ross for the foundation of a college in Flanders" (see *ante*, p. 325). But the story in question is otherwise corroborated; and the inscription on his memorial tablet at Douai, which styles him the "mirificus benefactor" of the seminary, gives it additional confirmation.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] His munificence is thus commemorated in an inscription to his memory at Douai: "Jacobus Cheynæius ab Aboyn Scotus, Juris utriusque doctor, canonicus Tornacensis, collegium Scotorum hæredem reliquit ex asse 27 Octobris 1602 (Oliver, *Collectanea*, p. 19).

to Antwerp; but in 1612 it returned finally to Douai, and took possession of its former house. A few years later its resources were materially increased by the munificent bequest which was made to it, in two wills dated 1618 and 1626, by Hippolytus Curle, S.J., the son of Queen Mary's secretary. The legacy thus acquired amounted to some sixty thousand florins. At the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from France in 1765, the property of the Scotch College at Douai was confiscated to the Crown. The French Government, however, afterwards permitted it to be applied to its original purpose,—namely, the education and maintenance of a certain number of Scotch students at the seminary. The internal discipline and administration of the college was similar to that prevailing at the kindred institutes for English students at Douai and Rheims.[1]

Its subsequent history.

In addition to the secular priests who thus received their training in the seminaries at Rome

[1] Knox, *Records of Engl. Cath.*, vol. i. p. 157 (Diarium Secund. Colleg. Anglo-Duacen). "Die 14 Octob. 1579, venerunt literæ D. Joannis Leslæi, r^mi episcopi Rossensis, Scoti, petentes instituta et exercitia seminarii nostri, eo fine, sicut protestatus est, ut novum seminarium gentis suæ, quod ipse et episcopus Glascoviensis, monente D. Alano præside nostro, jam Parisiis inchoaverant, eadem plane instituta sequeretur; quæ et recepit."

Queen Mary's original wish, which, however, she subsequently waived, appears to have been for an actual union of the Scotch college with the English. In announcing to Archbishop Beaton her intention to endow the college (Bishop Kyle's MS., cited above), she adds: "Je veux pour la première condition qu'ils se joignent avec les Anglois, soit a Rheims, soit ailleurs."—TRANSLATOR.

Benedictine missionaries in Scotland.

and Douai, zealous missionaries also came to labour in Scotland from the Scottish Benedictine cloisters of Ratisbon and Würzburg. Of the many Scottish monasteries which had flourished in Germany in medieval times, including Nuremberg, Constance, Memmingen, Eichstadt, Cologne, Burtscheid, Mayence, Leipsic, Metz, Fulda, Strasburg and Vienna, two only, Ratisbon and Würzburg, were still peopled by Scottish monks, and retained their original connection with the mother country.[1] The religious revolution of 1560 opened out to these venerable institutions a new sphere of labour, in the training and education of priests for the mission in Scotland; and they have continued to labour for the cause with zeal and success almost down to our own times.[2] Besides the valuable aid which they have been able to render to the mission, the Scoto-German monasteries have also, during the past three centuries, produced many scholars and men of learning, who, whether as authors or professors, have distinguished themselves in various branches of profane and sacred science.[3]

[1] To these must be added Erfurt—originally an offshoot of SS. Martin and Pantaleon at Cologne—which was recovered for the Scotch by Ninian Winzet, abbot of Ratisbon, 1577-1592, and remained in their possession till shortly before the breaking out of the French Revolution. See *ante*, p. 247, note.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The Abbey of St James's, Ratisbon, continued in the occupation of Scotch monks until the year 1862, when it was forcibly converted into an episcopal seminary.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] The *Archiv. des historischen Vereins für Unterfranken und As-*

Efforts of Clement VIII. on behalf of the Scottish Catholics.

Pope Clement VIII. not only interested himself in the foundation and support of the Scottish seminaries on the Continent, but he also sought personally to influence the king in order to secure some measure of religious freedom for the Catholics of Scotland. The nuncio at Paris, having communicated, on April 10, 1603, the news of Queen Elizabeth's decease to the Holy See,[1] informed the Cardinal-Secretary two days later of his intention to seek an audience of Henry IV., and urge him to exhort the new King of England to return to Catholic unity.[2] The nuncio made the same request of the Duke of Lorraine, who was about to repair on a congratulatory mission to the English Court; and he himself addressed, in September 1603, a letter of felicitation to the king and queen, cordially congratulating them, in the Holy Father's name, on their accession to the English throne, and entreating their good offices on behalf of their Catholic subjects. To the queen, herself a Catholic, the nuncio addressed a special letter, commending, by the Pope's desire,

Letters from the French nuncio to the king and queen.

chaffenburg (vol. xvi.) contains an interesting history of the Scotch monastery at Würzburg. See also Lindner, *Die Schriftsteller und die um Wissenschaft und Kunst verdienten Mitglieder des Benedictinerordens in Bayern*, vol. i. p. 232 *et seq.*

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nuntiatura di Francia*), vol. xlviii., Parigi, 10 Apr. 1603. "A mezza notte è venuta la nuove della morte della pseudo-Regina d'Inghilterra, e successione a quel Regno del Re di Scotia." Elizabeth had died on the 24th of March.

[2] *Ibid.*, Parigi, 12 Aprile, 1604. "Che vogli ritornare alla Religione cattolica."

the faithful in both kingdoms to her protection.[1] Clement gave his full approval to both these letters, and signified his own intention of writing to Queen Anne. On January 28, 1605, he accordingly addressed a letter to the queen, in which he congratulated her on her devotion to the Holy See, and expressed his earnest hope that she would educate the young prince in the Catholic faith, and would also use her influence to instil true religious principles into the mind of the king her husband.[2] The Pope, moreover, himself wrote a letter to James, offering to the monarch, in touching and impressive terms, his good wishes on his accession, and exhorting him to show himself lenient and generous towards his Catholic subjects.[3]

The Pope's letter to Queen Anne,

and to James.

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nunt. di Francia*), vol. xlviii. Both the nuncio's letters were previously submitted to Pope Clement, who signified his approval of them. "A tergo, di mano del Papa: Le lettere ci piaccono grandemente." Writing to the Pope on June 26, 1603, with reference to a letter he had received from Giorgio degli Effetti in London, the nuncio adds: "La lettera che io ho scritta alla Regina d'Inghilterra è solo di congratulazione, pregandola a nome di Nostro Signore a voler favorire le cose della Religione cattolica." On the back of the nuncio's letter the Pope has written: "Ci è di male, e anche qualche speranza del bene. Habbiamo carissimo, che l'Effetti sia rimasto in Inghilterra. Forse ci resolveremo di scrivere una lettera alla Regina."

[2] The Pope's letter to Queen Anne will be found in Appendix IX.

[3] Cardinal Moran has printed Clement's letter to the king (preserved in the Irish College at Salamanca) in the *Spicilegium Ossorense*, vol. i. p. 110. "Deinde a Te enixe poscimus," writes the Pope, "ut Catholicis, qui in Anglia regnisque Tuis sunt, Te, ut hactenus fecisti, lenem et mitem præbeas, neve quemquam in eos religionis causa durius aut acerbius agere patiaris."

The king's reply to the nuncio.

Several months were allowed to elapse before the king despatched his reply to the nuncio's letter. It reached Paris in the month of December 1603, and was at once transmitted to the Cardinal-Secretary at Rome. The original letter was in English, but a Latin translation of it was made in Paris, and laid before the Pope. In the course of a somewhat lengthy epistle, James expresses his gratitude to his Holiness for his kindly sentiments, and declares his intention of so wielding the authority which, next to God, he possesses over all his subjects, that neither the Pontiff nor any other man of sound judgment will find in his government any cause of blame.[1] The king further took occasion to mention that he was glad that the Pope had not sent a nuncio to England, and added that he had no wish to mix himself up with religious questions. Clement appears to have been satisfied with this letter, such as it was, and expressed, through the French nuncio, his good wishes for his majesty's spiritual and bodily welfare.[2] Although the Holy See had no

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nunt. di Francia*), Decemb. 14, 1602. "Ad eam normam nos auctoritatem potestatemque nostram, quam proxime et secundum Deum in omnes subditos nostros habemus, ita accommodabimus, ut neque in ipsius Romani Pontificis, nec in alterius cujusque hominis reprehensionem, qui recti sanique judicii est, regni nostri administratio juste ac merito incidere possit."

[2] On the back of the king's letter is written, in the Pope's hand: "Questa è una lunga scrittura e da considerare molto bene. Potrà il Nuntio dire d'havercela mandata, e che in noi continua la buona volontà e il buon desiderio verso la Maestà Sua cosi della salute dell' anima come del corpo, e de' stati suoi."

accredited representative in London, it was, nevertheless, kept informed of what went on at the English Court. Besides the intelligence which was conveyed to the nunciature at Paris by prominent Scottish Catholics, an Italian agent, named George degli Effetti (or Effebi), was sent unofficially to London, in order to sound the state of religious feeling at Court. His reports, however, apart from the tedious and irrelevant matter which found place in them, appear to have caused some dissatisfaction at Rome, partly owing to the disparaging mention which they made of the queen.[1]

Agent of the Pope in London.

Whatever may have been the hopes entertained at Rome with regard to the immediate future of Catholicism in Great Britain, they were doomed to disappointment. In individual cases, indeed, James showed himself not ill-disposed towards Catholics. Thus the French nuncio, writing on July 1, 1603, mentions that a young Scotchman, of good position, a convert to the Catholic faith, who had been ordered by the king to renounce his religion, boldly answered that "he must and would remain the master of his own soul,"[2] but had nevertheless continued to enjoy the royal

King James's disposition towards his Catholic subjects.

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nuntiat. di Franc.*) Letter from Giorgio degli Effetti, dated September 3, 1603, and superscribed by the Pope: "Ci sono molte ineptie, ma si vede che quest' huomo è stato diligente. Ci dispiace quello che dice, che non sia da far fondamento nella Regina, e che attenda a darsi buon tempo in modo che sarà amica d'altro che di corone."

[2] *Ibid.* (July 1, 1603). "Che dell' anima sua voleva, e doveva lui essere padrone."

favour. The nuncio, in the same letter, stated his belief that James remained a Protestant simply for reasons of State.[1] To a memorial presented by the English Catholics, praying for liberty of conscience, he replied that the petitioners should suffer neither in person nor property. In the opinion, however, of the priest who drew up the memorial, the king's only aim in this show of liberality was to strengthen his new position by an ostensible wish to conciliate all parties.[2] It is more significant, perhaps, of his real sentiments that, in the first year of his reign, he ordered the banishment of "all Jesuits, seminaries, and priests whatsoever," and directed the pictures and rosaries presented by the Pope to Queen Anne to be sent back to the French nuncio.[3] The latter had doubtless good grounds for writing as he did in the spring of 1604, that the religious attitude of King James up to that time gave little ground for

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nuntiat. di Franc.*) "Il Rè d'Inghilterra è heretico per ragion di Stato."

[2] *Ibid.* (Paris, June 2, 1603). "E comparso qui un Sacerdote Inglese, che si chiama Tommaso Vungtus (?); mi ha detto essersi lui trovato a comporre il Memoriale dato a quel Rè in nome delli Cattolici, e che per risposta ebbero, che non sarebbono stati perseguitati ne nella roba ne nelle persone . . . ben è vero, che mi ha soggiunto detto sacerdote, che quel Rè da a tutti buone parole, e non attende ad altro che stabilirsi con mettere e levare confidenti e diffidenti."

[3] *Ibid.* (Paris, May 31, 1605). The nuncio reports that the English ambassador has handed over to him, through his secretary, "quelli quadri e corone che Nostro Signore haveva mandato a presentare alla Regina per il Signor Antonio Standen, facendomi sapere di haver ordine dal Rè di darmeli." The nuncio adds that he will find some other way of conveying the articles to the queen.

hope that the Pope's efforts to secure freedom of conscience to the Catholics of Britain would be successful.[1] A few days after these words were written, the king, in his speech to the Parliament, described his relations to the Anglican establishment as that of a bridegroom to his bride, and explicitly declared that no clerics who maintained the doctrine of Papal supremacy could be suffered to remain in the kingdom.[2]

Prosecution of Catholics by the Kirk.

It was to be expected that, under the rule of a monarch who held such sentiments, the intolerance of the Kirk would weigh heavily on Scottish Catholics. In 1601 rigorous proceedings were instituted against Gordon, laird of Gicht, who declared himself ready to make any sacrifice for his religion;[3] and some years later both he and the laird of Newton were sentenced to perpetual banishment. William Barclay, advocate, was tried in the same year for hearing two masses, said by Father M'Quhirrie, a Jesuit, in the house of Andrew Napier at Edinburgh.[4] Sentence of

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nunt. di Franc.*), Paris, March 22, 1694. "Questa dispozione del Rè, si avvantaggiosa per li Heretici, causerà che tutti i disegni che il Papa potrà fare per procurar ai Cattolici la libertà di coscienza, saranno di poco frutto."

[2] Commons's *Journals*, vol. i. p. 143. Somers's *Tracts*, vol. ii. pp. 60-69.

[3] *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-sessions, &c., of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club), p. 180. "Giff it sall pleis Majestie," wrote the laird of Gicht, "and your wisdomes of the Kirk of Scotland, sa to tack my bluid for my professioun, quhilk is Catholick Romane, I will maist willinglie offere it for the same."

[4] See Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 348. The Synod of

banishment was pronounced on him also, as well as on Malcolm Laing and Henry Gibson, who were convicted a week later of a like offence. In the General Assembly which met this year, bitter complaints were made of the skippers and mariners who bring into the country seminary priests, "Jesuits, and other trafficking Papists, with their coffers and books," and of the persons who were employed in distributing such books through the country.[1] Strict charge was likewise given to the preachers to ascertain and give information of all persons absenting themselves from the communion, in order that they might be reported to his Majesty's ministers.[2] In May 1604, we find proceedings taken in the Synod of Aberdeen against John Melvill, and on a subsequent occasion against Alexander Paton—both of whom were charged with painting crucifixes to be used at funerals.[3] The letting of houses to persons suspected of Popery was forbidden under stringent penalties,[4] and the most innocent amuse-

Aberdeen complained to the king in 1606 of the "uncouth priestis and Jesuits who were hard saying mass in Cathness and Sutherland," adding that the lairds of Gicht and Newtone, excommunicated Papists, "are sufferit, and no ordour tane with them." *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 151.—Translator.

[1] *Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. iii. p. 965.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 967.

[3] *Selections*, p. 33. John Melvill, painter, accused of painting a crucifix to the burial of the lady of Gicht. *Ibid.*, p. 86, Alexander Pantoun, accused of painting a crucifix, to be carried at the funeral of Mr Richard Irving.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

ments were prohibited as savouring of superstition. James Dun, for the crime of hearing mass and communicating when residing abroad, was ordered to do penance for eight days in sackcloth and ashes,[1] and Robert Laing was banished by order of the bishop of Aberdeen for refusing to subscribe the Protestant Confession.[2] In 1607 a priest named Murdoch or Mackie, convicted of saying mass at Strathbogie, Dunrobin, and other places in the north, was brought from prison and compelled to stand for two hours at the market-cross of Edinburgh, wearing his vestments and carrying his chalice; after which both vestments and chalice were publicly burnt, and he himself was banished the kingdom.[3] Five years later James Stewart, of the Netherbow, Edinburgh, was condemned and banished as a noted "Papist and resetter of priests;" and in the same year John Logan, portioner of Restalrig, was fined one thousand pounds Scots for having been present at mass in a private house in the Cowgate.[4]

Anti-Catholic proceedings of the Assembly at Aberdeen, 1616.

The proceedings of the General Assembly of 1616 seem to indicate that the panic of the Kirk at the alarming spread of Catholic tenets throughout the country had now reached its height. The Assembly was summoned to meet at Aberdeen, mainly "to obviat the great increase of Papistrie within the realme;" and at once proceeded to

[1] *Selections*, p. 70. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[3] Lawson, *The Roman Catholic Church in Scot.*, p. 283. [4] *Ibid.*

enact such further repressive measures as it thought best calculated to root out what remained of the ancient faith. Among other things, it was ordained that if those who had conformed to Protestantism "be tryit and found to weare and beare under persone *Agnus Dei* beads, cross, crucifixes, or to have uther house idols or images, or in their books such things as before they have superstitiously used, the same shall inferr just suspicion of apostacie and falling back." It was also resolved that replies should be published to the Papist books circulated through the country, and that measures should be taken against the dangers arising from certain women, who "tacks upon them to bring up the youth in reading, sewing, and utheris exercises in schools, under pretext and cullour whereof traffiquing Papists, Jesuites, and seminarie priests, hes their appointed tymes of meeting, at the quhilk tyme they catechise and pervert the youth in their growing and tender age;" and also against divers of the said priests, who "goes about under cullour and pretext of doctors of physicke and apothecaries, deceaving and perverting the people from the trew religione profest within this countrie." Ladies who, without permission of their husbands, entertain Jesuits or seminary priests, are to be required to find surety that they will refrain from such proceedings in future. Finally, as this unhappy state of things arises

from the defective administration of the laws of the realm, the king is to be petitioned to provide that "the lovable laws and acts of Parliament made by his Majestie in tymes bypast against traffiqueing Papists, Jesuites, or seminarie priests, may be put to executione in time coming with rigour."[1] Lists of the recusants are, further, to be drawn up, and every minister is to receive a copy from the bishop of the diocese.[2] What the severity of the existing laws actually was, had been shown only a few months previously by the sentence passed on three respectable citizens of Edinburgh, named Sinclair, Wilkie, and Cruikshanks, who, for the crime of harbouring priests, were condemned in August 1615 to be hanged as traitors. The gallows was already erected, and the prisoners were on their way to execution, when they were informed that their sentence was commuted to banishment for life.[3]

The Kirk and the Catholic nobles.

The leaders of the Kirk naturally directed a large share of their attention to the Catholic nobles, whose conversion to Protestantism they endeavoured to effect by every means in their

[1] *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, pp. 589-592. See Preface to Blakhal's *Breiffe Narration*, p. xix.

[2] *Acts of the Gen. Assemblies*, vol. iii. pp. 1117-1119. "Forasmikle as the most urgent causes of the convocation of this present Assemblie is to obviate the great increase of Papistrie within this realme, and try out the just causes hereof, to the effect that sufficient remedies may be provided for redressing of the same in all tyme coming. . . . The Bishop of every Dyocie sall delyver a catalogue of the names to every minister."

[3] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. pp. 371-376.

power. Special preachers were appointed to each of the noble families of Huntly, Errol, Angus, Home, and Herries, and charged with the task of converting the whole household. In spite of the obvious fact that Huntly's abjuration of his faith had been nothing more than a mere outward form, the ministers did not hesitate again to cite him before their spiritual tribunal for the re-enactment of the same farce. In 1608 he was solemnly excommunicated by the Assembly as a relapsed Papist;[1] and two years later we find him, with the Earls of Errol and Angus, petitioning to be absolved from the excommunication, which, it must not be forgotten, carried with it the most rigorous civil penalties. Huntly again subscribed the Confession without scruple; but Errol, though at first he offered to do the same, yet afterwards, we are told by a contemporary historian, "fell into such a trouble of mind, as he went near to have killed himself."[2] He appears from this time to his death to have persevered in his Catholic profession. As for Angus, he chose voluntary exile rather than the renunciation of his religion, and accordingly retired to France, where he died in 1612. One of the letters of the French nuncio, written a year or two previously, depicts in vivid language the unhappy condition of Angus and his fellow-Catholics in Scotland. The writer describes the religious persecution in that country as having

Huntly, Errol, and Angus.

Climax of the religious persecution in Scotland.

[1] Spottiswood, *History*, vol. iii. p. 193. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

now reached its climax; and he begs the Pope, before the Scottish Catholics are driven to despair, to intervene on their behalf with the Catholic princes, and also to write a letter of encouragement and consolation to Angus himself, who, he adds, is the chief witness to the faith in Scotland, both on account of his distinguished position and his high personal character.[1] The nuncio's report is corroborated by a letter written in the same year (1609) by the bishop of Carpentras to the Cardinal-Secretary, transmitting to him some information as to religious affairs in Scotland, which had been received by a Scotchman residing in Carpentras from the Baron of Craig.[2] The letter tells the same tale of excommunication, imprisonment, and confiscation inflicted on the unfortunate Catholics. Assistance at mass, even in a foreign country, was an offence visited with total

[1] *Archiv. Vatican* (*Nunt. di Franc.*, vol. liii.), Paris, June 26, 1609. "La persecuzione contro i cattolici di Scozia è giunto a segno, che non può esser nè più crudele, nè più generale. Dall' aggiunte scrittura vedrà Vossignoria Ill^ma come si procede contro il conte di Anguis, il quale in tanta calamità non ha altra consolazione, se non che apparisce per l'istessa citatione del Rè non esser egli perseguitato per altro se per esser cattolico. Supplica egli con altri Scozzesi, che voglia Vostra Santità scriver Brevi a Principi Cattolici et esortarli a far caldo officio col Rè d'Inghilterra per la mitigazione di questi mali, quali li metteranno in ultima desperatione. Io ho procurato di consolare il Conte, quanto meglio ho saputo e di adjutarlo in gran tentatione, però conoscendo il grandissimo pericolo stimerei molto opportuno, che Sua Santità medesima lo consolasse con un Breve e lo confortasse alla costanza e alla pazienza offerendogli il suo Patrozinio. Egli e la prima testa di Scotia e per la grandezza dello stato e per la reputazione della persona."

[2] See Appendix X.

deprivation of property; and any one wishing to leave Scotland had to find security that he would not turn Catholic. As to Huntly, we find him five years later again under excommunication, and confined in ward as a relapsed Papist. Once more he professed his readiness to conform, this time to the Anglican Church. He accordingly repaired to London, and, to the great satisfaction of the king, was formally absolved in Lambeth Palace chapel by the archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

Distinguished Scottish priests.

Notwithstanding the crushing severity of the penal statutes, the religious records of the first quarter of the seventeenth century have yet preserved the names of a large number of devoted Scottish priests, both secular and regular, who either laboured at the risk of their own lives for the salvation of souls, or distinguished themselves as scholars and theologians. Among these a foremost place is due to Gilbert Broun, the last abbot of Sweetheart or New Abbey, near Dumfries, who laboured incessantly for many years to preserve the faith in Glasgow, Paisley, and Galloway. Through his means, seconded as he was by the powerful influence of Lord Herries, the Catholic reaction made such marked progress in

Abbot Gilbert Broun.

[1] It is only fair to add that Huntly, after the extraordinary tergiversations of his life, turned for consolation at the last to the ministry of the Church which he had never at heart renounced. He died at Dundee in 1636, apparently a sincere Catholic, and attended by Father William Christie, S.J. (Oliver's *Collections*).—Translator.

Dumfries, that in 1601 and 1602 the inhabitants of the town openly attended at mass. About the same time Abbot Broun held a written controversy with John Welsh, a minister of Ayr. The authorities of the Kirk, who had some years previously complained of the abbot's "busyness," and of his enticing people "within the bounds of Papistrie," petitioned for his apprehension by the guard, describing him as the "famous excommunicat, foirfaultit and perverting Papist, who evir since the reformatioun of religioune had conteinit in ignorance and idolatrie allmost the haill south-west partis of Scotland, and had been continowallie occupyit in practiseing of heresy." The abbot was captured in August 1605, in spite of the resistance of the country people, and conveyed to Blackness, and thence to Edinburgh.[1] He was afterwards banished, and died at Paris in 1612, at the age of eighty-four.

John Hamilton.

A name hardly less prominent at this time was that of John Hamilton, the distinguished doctor of the Sorbonne, and rector of the University of Paris during the stormy times which ended with the abjuration of Calvinism by Henry IV.[2] At

[1] He would seem to have enjoyed some measure of royal favour at least, according to Calderwood (*Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 295), who says that the abbot, whilst detained in Edinburgh Castle, "was interteaned upon the king's expences till his departure out of the countrie."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Burton (*Scot Abroad*, vol. i. p. 282), cites an extraordinary story about Hamilton placing himself at the head of a gang of desperadoes, with the object of attacking the royal procession to St Denis,

the suppression of the League, of which he had been a strong adherent, Hamilton returned to Scotland, and devoted all his energies to maintaining the Catholic cause. He published, among other works, a defence of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and a treatise demonstrating the anti-Christian character of the Reformation in Scotland, and its repugnance to the principles of divine authority.[1] A proclamation was issued for his apprehension, which, however, was not effected without considerable difficulty. At length he was taken, conveyed to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he died in 1610, the king having refused to sanction the capital penalty, in spite of the urgent solicitations of the fanatic leaders of the Kirk.[2]

Penalties imposed on priests.

Father Robert Creighton, the scene of whose labours was in Perthshire, was apprehended in 1610, confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and sentenced to be hanged at the market cross and

on the memorable 25th of July 1593. But he gives no authority; and the most authentic accounts of the proceedings make no mention of any such incident. See Chalambert, *Histoire de la Ligue*, vol. ii. p. 285.—Translator.

[1] The best-known work of Hamilton is his 'Facile traictuise, contenand ane infallible reul to discerne trew from fals religion,' in which he brings forward those charges against the personal character of Knox—"the renegat prest of Haddintoun,"—which have so scandalised the modern admirers of the apostle of reform. —Translator.

[2] His death, however, it would seem, was not without suspicion of foul play. "Veneno," says Conœus (*De Dupl. Stat. Relig.*, p. 168), "ut multis placet, enectus, in arce Londinensi occubuit."—Translator.

quartered as a traitor. After six months' imprisonment, however, his punishment was commuted to banishment for life. Robert Philip, an *alumnus* of the Scotch College at Rome, was similarly sentenced for simply saying mass, and he also was banished. So too, Fathers Roger Lindsay and George Ashton, after labouring for many years on the Scottish mission, were compelled to quit their native land, and died abroad.[1] The Town Council of Edinburgh, in 1615, ordered Father George Strachan to quit the city within twelve days, and not to be again found therein "till they be fully certified of his public repentance against his Papistrie."[2] We can hardly be wrong in concluding that this, too, was intended and accepted as a sentence of perpetual exile.

Father Archangel (Master of Forbes).

A Scottish convert of distinction at this time was John, Master of Forbes, known in religion as Father Archangel, of the Order of Capuchins. His mother, a sister of the Earl of Huntly, was a fervent Catholic; and through her prayers and the instructions of his uncle, the distinguished Jesuit, Father James Gordon, John early embraced the Catholic faith. A marriage with a Protestant lady had already been arranged for

[1] Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. ii. p. 119. Conœus (*op. cit.*, p. 172) thus speaks of Lindsay, "Rogerum Lyndesium, miti ingenio, erudita et prudenti modestia, labores suos sacros inter Catholicos dispensantem, complures annos Scotia suspexit et unice amavit."

[2] Cited by Gordon, *Scotichron.*, vol. iv. p. 583.

him by his father; but, impelled by the voice of God, the young heir renounced at once bride, country, and fortune, and, like another Alexius, fled to work out his true vocation in a foreign land.[1] After extraordinary sufferings he succeeded in obtaining the desire of his heart, and in August 1593, was admitted into the Capuchin Order at Tournai. The General of the Capuchins, Michael of Rimini, when on one of his visits to Flanders, became acquainted with the remarkable qualities of the young Scottish friar, whom he destined to labour on the mission in his native country. Steps were actually taken at Rome preparatory to his being sent thither; Father Archangel meanwhile remaining in Flanders, where he devoted himself to the pastoral care of a large number of his countrymen, especially the Scottish soldiers in the garrison at Dixmund, many of whom he converted. His unceasing labours prematurely exhausted his strength, and he died peacefully in his convent on August 2, 1606, in his thirty-seventh year.[2] We learn

[1] Cf. Concœus (*op. cit.*, p. 171). "Quorum [Forbosiorum fratrum] virtutes libellus qui *Alter Alexis* titulo legitur, luculenter enarratas continet."

[2] This Father Archangel must not be confounded with his elder brother William, also a Capuchin, who bore the same name in religion, and died at Ghent, in his thirtieth year. See Raess, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, vol. xi. pp. 37-61. William's name occurs in the obituary of the Ghent community, now preserved in the Capuchin convent at Bruges. The date of his death was March 21, 1592. Both brothers are buried in the Capuchin church at Ghent (now used for Protestant worship), where their mother is

from a manuscript, preserved in the Barberini Library, that Pope Clement VIII. was petitioned to allow Father Archangel (before the latter received holy orders) to return to Scotland, in order to use his influence to restore peace between his family and the Gordons, who were at feud. The Pope consented to the petition, so far as permitting the young Capuchin to return home for a time for the good of religion, and to dispense with wearing his habit on account of the persecution; but he was to continue to observe his religious vows, and was not to be free to marry. There is no evidence as to whether Father Forbes actually visited Scotland at this time.[1]

Patrick Anderson, S.J.

Among the Jesuit fathers who, during this period, devoted themselves to labour for the faith in Scotland, the nephew of Bishop Leslie, Patrick Anderson, deserves a foremost place. Born in Morayshire and educated at Edinburgh, he entered the Society at Rome in 1597, and speedily earned the reputation of a distinguished

also interred—"cum duobus Archangelis," as may be read in the inscription on their tomb. Bishop Forbes (*Edin. Review*, Jan. 1864, p. 190) states, but without giving his authority, that one of the brothers has been enrolled among the number of the "Beati," as a preliminary step to canonisation.

There was still another Father Archangel, also a Scotchman and a Capuchin, flourishing at this period. He was of the Leslie family, and came to the mission in Scotland in 1623. See, for details of his life, *Hist. Records of the Family of Leslie*, vol. iii. pp. 415 *et seq.*—TRANSLATOR.

[1] See Appendix XI.

theologian, linguist, and philosopher. He was sent to the Scottish mission in 1609, and for two years laboured in all parts of the country with untiring zeal, and amid every sort of hardship and difficulty, there being at that time, as we learn from a letter of Father Gordon, hardly a single secular priest in Scotland. Father Anderson directed his attention towards supplying this pressing want, and succeeded in collecting nearly a hundred youths, who were anxious to serve God in the missionary life. But he was at this juncture recalled to France, and he remained on the Continent for several years, filling, for a time, the office of rector of the newly founded Scotch College at Rome.[1] The date of his return to Scotland is uncertain; but from a long letter addressed by him to the General of the Society in August 1620, we learn that on St Patrick's Day in that year he was betrayed to the magistrates of Edinburgh by a false Catholic named Boyd, and lodged in prison. He was treated with much harshness, and threatened with the barbarous torture of the boots; but at length, after nine months' close confinement, he was liberated, it was said at the instance of the

[1] Father Anderson would seem to have profited by his familiarity with foreign habits and languages for purposes of disguise. Contemporary testimony (see Concœus, *De Dupl. Stat.*, p. 170) speaks of him as "non habitum solum, ut cæteri, sed patriam quo tutior lateret dissimulans; Gallum enim et moribus et sermone dixisses." —Translator.

French ambassador, and immediately banished from Scotland. He died in London on September 24, 1624. Besides his well-known work, 'The Ground of the Catholike and Roman Religion in the Word of God,' written in 1623, he also compiled the 'Memoirs of the Scottish Saints,' preserved in the Scotch College at Paris up to the Revolution.[1]

James Moffet, S.J.

Another distinguished Jesuit missionary at this time was Father James Moffet, who was one of those selected by Father Gordon to repair to Scotland, when the persecution was somewhat relaxed by the death (in 1611) of the persecuting Earl of Dunbar, High Commissioner to the Assembly. An interesting letter from himself, dated December 13, 1615, informs us of the extraordinary success that attended his labours for the first six months after his arrival in Scotland. At length, however, he was apprehended through the instrumentality of the archbishop of St Andrews, whose eldest son did not think it

[1] Father Anderson, writing to the General from prison, May 14, 1620, speaks of himself as the author of the latter work, "Commendo Paternitati Vestræ alumnos collegii Scotorum, quibus consolationi erit non mediocri, ut typis mandentur Vitæ Sanctorum Scotorum, quas ego magno sane labore in unum congessi."—Oliver's *Collections*.

Alban Butler, in his lives of several of the early Celtic saints (see Lives of SS. Felan, Jan. 9, Duthac, March 8, and Constantine, March 11), refers to the MS. memoirs of the Scotch saints, compiled by a Scotch Jesuit, nephew to Bishop Leslie. Butler does not seem to have been acquainted with the author's name.—TRANSLATOR.

below his dignity of archdeacon to head the guards which conveyed the prisoner to Edinburgh. Father Moffet was repeatedly examined before the Privy Council, which alternately menaced him with the boots, and offered him a bishopric and the rich abbacy of Coldingham if he would renounce his faith. "If his majesty," answered the faithful servant of Christ, "would even give me his three kingdoms, I would never yield to your wishes, nor prove a dissembler. Riches will not render me happy. Christ affirms, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' To obtain this beatitude, I have bound myself by a vow of perpetual poverty, and, with the blessing of God, will never violate this engagement. Abandon, therefore, every hope of thus inducing me to exchange the Catholic faith for yours." Father Moffet encloses in his letter a certificate, which gives us a glimpse of the methods employed by the authorities to ensnare the priests who fell into their hands. It runs as follows: "I, Robert Wilkes, citizen of Edinburgh, certify and declare that George, archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the realm of Scotland, and John, archbishop of Glasgow, principal members of the Privy Council, together with some other ministers of Scotland, did offer to me (in order that I might betray your reverence, and affirm that I had heard you say mass, or that you had treated with any of their nobility for

their conversion to the faith, or had repaired to their houses for that purpose) the sum of one thousand marks in ready money, as also the yearly pension from the king of four thousand marks during the term of my life, with a free pardon and discharge from my long confinement, and from the sentence of death, and the grievous confiscation of my temporal goods."[1] Father Moffet was condemned to perpetual banishment.

John Ogilvie, S.J.

One more name, and that the most illustrious of all, meets us in the records of the sufferers for the faith in Scotland during these stormy days. John Ogilvie was educated at Douai, and received into the Society of Jesus at Gratz, by Father Alberi, provincial of Austria. He accompanied Father Moffet to the Scottish mission early in 1614, but hardly six months afterwards was betrayed and apprehended in Glasgow, along with several persons whom he had admitted to hear his mass. The latter were imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle, and afterwards heavily fined and banished; but for Father Ogilvie himself a more glorious crown was in store. As it so happened, he fell into the hands of Archbishop Spottiswood, at the time when the animosity between the native Presbyterian element and the hierarchy newly imposed upon the country was perhaps at its highest. Spottiswood no doubt saw in the capture of the

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 583. (From Oliver's *Collections*.)

Jesuit father an excellent opportunity of clearing himself from any suspicion of Catholic leanings, and of proving unanswerably his anti-Popish zeal. It is only to some such motive that we can ascribe his ruffianly behaviour to his prisoner at his first examination. Striking him a blow before the whole assembly, the prelate exclaimed: "You were an over-insolent fellow to say your masses in a reformed city." Father Ogilvie calmly replied: "You do not act like a bishop, but like an executioner, in striking me,"—an answer which only had the effect of provoking fresh outrages and insults from his brutal captors.[1]

Dragged from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and then back again to Glasgow, Ogilvie was kept in suspense for many months before his fate was finally decided. Meanwhile he was plied with questions which might well have perplexed a less ready understanding; but to the Jesuit, who to the advantage of a good scholastic education united that of an excellent mother wit, the interrogatories of his adversaries were only so many fresh occasions of victory. "Can the Pope depose the king?" he was asked. "Nay," was the reply; "he cannot depose a lawful king and an obedient son of the Church as such." "But what if he should be a heretic?" "Many doctors hold the

Examination of Father Ogilvie.

[1] See *An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of Father John Ogilvie.* Douai, 1615. Translated by C. J. Karslake, 1877, pp. 6, 7.

opinion that the Pope could depose an heretical king." "But what do *you* say?" they asked him. "When it shall be defined to be of faith, I will die for it. As to what is my opinion at the present moment, I am not bound to say until I am questioned by the judge of religious controversies —that is, by the Pope, or by some one having authority from him." The chagrin of the judges, at finding themselves foiled by such answers as these, may be imagined; and it was not lessened by the absolute refusal of their prisoner to disclose where he had received hospitality and exercised his ministry in the city. They next tried to entrap him on the question of obedience to the civil power. "Are you unwilling to obey the king?" they asked. "All things which are due to the king I will render him." "But the king forbids masses, and you say them." "Whether Christ or the king is 'rather to be obeyed, judge you.' The king forbids it, but Christ (St Luke xxii.) has ordained it, and commanded masses to be celebrated, as I will prove to you if you wish it. And if the king condemns what Christ instituted, how will he escape being called a persecutor?" "Can the Pope excommunicate the king, a man who is not in his Church?" "A heretic is in the Church as regards the possibility of punishment, though not as regards the communion of the gifts and graces of salvation; for just as the king can capture and punish banditti and robbers, so the Pope has power and ought to chastise rebellious

heretics. For the Pope acquires a right over a man when he is baptised, because then he becomes a member of the mystical body, and a sheep of Christ's flock, of which the Pope is the shepherd." When, in the course of his trial, he was asked by Archbishop Spottiswood whether, if condemned to banishment instead of to death, he would seek to return to Scotland, Ogilvie undauntedly replied: "If I should be exiled for any evil deed committed, I should certainly take care not to come back; but if I were exiled for this cause which I sustain, I should not fail to retrace my steps to the country. And would that every hair of my head might convert a thousand to the orthodox faith, and you, archbishop, in the first place."[1]

It was determined that Father Ogilvie should be sacrificed, and he was accordingly, after little more than a mockery of a trial, condemned to death. From his prison cell in Glasgow, he wrote to the General of the Society a graphic account of his sufferings; and he also found time to compile a narrative of his examination before his judges, from which the foregoing details are chiefly taken. On the 10th of March 1615, the brave missionary perished on the scaffold, at the hands of the common hangman.[2] Such a death, in such a cause,

Martyrdom of Father Ogilvie, March 10, 1615.

[1] *An Authentic Account*, &c., pp. 14, 23, 45, 46.

[2] For details of the martyr's death, see Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, pp. 310-314.

had, it is needless to remark, only the effect of inciting a greater number of devoted priests than before to offer themselves for the Scottish mission.[1] According to one historian, King James had expressed his desire that the prisoner should be liberated, if his only crime was saying mass; but that he should be condemned if he maintained the authority of the Pope over kings.[2]

The picture presented to us of the sufferings of the Scottish Catholics at this period, of which only a faint outline has been given in the preceding pages, amply justifies the statement actually made by the French ambassador, that their condition was even more deplorable than that of their fellow-Catholics in England. And yet all the efforts of the Kirk, penetrating as it did into every relation of domestic life, were powerless to suppress entirely the influence of Catholic faith and practice, which had been so closely interwoven with the very life of the people. "Wherever," ob-

Survival of Catholic tradition in Scotland.

[1] Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 12. "If we may judge from the annals and correspondence of the day, and especially from the troubles of those to whom Popery was chiefly an object of dread and horror, Scotland was never so infested by prowling Jesuits and traffickers as after the martyrdom of Father Ogilvie."

[2] Cunningham, *Church Hist. of Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 28. James is said to have blamed Spottiswood for hurrying on the execution, and to have remarked to Huntly, "I have no wish to see bloody heads round my deathbed." When asked for an explanation of these strange words, he spoke of the dreadful end of Queen Elizabeth, and how she had seen the spectres of the monks whom she had put to death, gazing at her in her last moments. (Schmidt, *Hist. Prov. Bohem.* Cited by Forbes-Leith, *op. cit.*, p. 315, *note.*)—TRANSLATOR.

serves a modern writer, "there existed remnants of the old faith, zealots would be found prowling about them in adoration. In corners of the vast ruins of Elgin Cathedral, groups of Catholic worshippers assembled secretly down to the reign of Queen Anne. In remote places, where there were shrines, crosses, or holy founts, the people, though nominally Protestant, were found practising some traditional remnant of the old Church. Crosses, shrines, and other artificial attractions might be removed, but there remained the most significant of all the old centres of devotion—the consecrated wells, the springs of water from which the earliest missionaries made the first converts to Christianity. Though everything had been done, from the Reformation downwards, to obliterate the memory of the local saints, the shrine or the well retained its spell, though the particular saint whose virtue attached to it was entirely forgotten."[1]

Pope Paul V. and the Scottish Catholics.

Pope Paul V., who had ascended the Pontifical throne in 1605, showed himself not less solicitous than his illustrious predecessor, Clement VIII., for the welfare of the Catholics of Scotland. On July 9, 1606, he addressed a cordial letter to King James, congratulating him on his accession

His letter to King James.

[1] Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 56. Cf. Cunningham, *Church Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 27. "The truth is, the popular mind was by no means purged of Popery. The people in many districts still clung to the old religious customs which had become intertwined within their social and domestic habits."

to the English throne, and also on his safe deliverance from the conspiracy recently formed against him. The Pope expresses the grief with which he had learned that some of the English Catholics had taken part in the plot, while at the same time he appeals to the king's sense of justice not to permit the innocent Catholics of the realm to suffer for the wrongdoing of their co-religionists. The letter goes on to recall the intimate relations which former kings of Scotland had always maintained with the Holy See, from the time of Donald down to the late Queen Mary of illustrious memory. The Pope further urges on the king the duty of taking every means to bring to a solution the religious questions which divide his realm, and proffers for that purpose his own assistance and that of the Roman theologians. He undertakes, on his part, to exhort the English and Scottish Catholics to show towards their lawful sovereign entire submission and obedience, in all matters that are not opposed to the honour of Almighty God.[1]

The oath of allegiance.

James, however, understood the obedience due to his royal authority in another and a much more extended sense than that implied by the Holy Father. The oath of allegiance which his Catholic subjects were required to take contained provisions to which no Catholic could submit without a virtual renunciation of his faith. These

[1] The text of the Pope's letter will be found in Appendix XII.

provisions were the subject of long and learned controversy between the royal theologian on the one hand, and Cardinal Robert Bellarmine and Francis Suarez, both of the Society of Jesus, on the other.[1] While these two distinguished writers were combating against the sophistries of their opponent, with all the resources of their vast learning and unrivalled polemical skill, the Pope interposed his supreme authority, and formally condemned the oath in two briefs dated September 22, 1606, and August 23, 1607, respectively.[2] Unhappily, George Blackwell, who held the important position of arch-priest of England and Scotland, set himself in opposition to the views of the Pope, and not only himself subscribed the oath, but directed his clergy to follow his example.[3] A letter of remonstrance, addressed to Blackwell by Cardinal Bellarmine in September

[1] Suarez's great work, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores* (Opera, ed. 1751, tom. xxi.), includes a special treatise (lib. vi.) on the question of the lawfulness of the oath of allegiance.

James's own work was styled *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*: it was translated into French and Latin, and copies were sent to all the European princes. The King of Spain peremptorily refused it. The immediate consequence of its publication in England was the hanging of three priests (two at Tyburn and one at York) who refused to be convinced by the royal arguments. See *Ambassades de Boderie*, tom. iii. pp. 190, 227.—Translator.

[2] Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. iv. Appendix, Nos. xxv. and xxvii.) gives the texts of the papal briefs.

[3] Blackwell wrote from the Gatehouse Prison, where he was confined, giving the reasons why he judged it expedient for both clergy and laity to take the oath. (Tierney, *op. cit.*, Append., No. xxix.)

1607, failed to convince him of his error;[1] and the Pope had consequently no alternative but to depose him from his office, which he accordingly did by brief dated February 1, 1608, appointing at the same time George Birkhead as his successor.[2]

Deposition of the arch-priest.

The new arch-priest was able to do little for the amelioration of the condition of his fellow-Catholics during his short term of office, falling as it did at a time when their very existence seemed threatened, not only by persecutions from without, but by the internal schisms caused by the unfortunate policy of his predecessor. He had at least the satisfaction of seeing that out of the whole body of Catholic clergy only some twenty were found ready to take the obnoxious oath.[3] Birkhead was anxious on every ground for the restoration of episcopal government in England; and his wishes were seconded by the nuncios in France and Flanders. But the Pope judged that the time had not yet come for such a step; and on the death of Birkhead in 1614, setting aside Antony Champney, whom the assistants of the arch-priest had claimed the right to nominate, he appointed William Harrison to the

[1] Tierney, *op. cit.*, Append., No. xxx. Cardinal Bellarmine to Blackwell.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. xxxi. Brief of Paul V. (from the State Paper Office).

[3] It is to be noted, however, that of the Catholic peers, who numbered more than twenty, all, excepting only Lord Teynham, took the oath at different times. See Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. vii. (ed. 1849) p. 98.—TRANSLATOR.

office. The brief of appointment is dated July 11, 1615;[1] and a few days later faculties were granted to him for "the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, Man, and other places subject to the King of Great Britain, and for persons belonging to those places exclusively." The faculties are nineteen in number, and the concluding clause declares the apostolic nuncio in France for the time being ordinary both for England and Scotland.[2]

[1] It would seem, however, that he was actually appointed in the previous February. Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 66) mentions that in a congregation of the Holy Office, held on February 23, faculties were granted to "Gulielmo Arisono, Anglo, deputato Archi-presbytero Angliæ." The brief of July 11th is printed by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v. Append., No. xxvii.), as well as the faculties given below.—Translator.

[2] Facultates pro archipresbytero Angliæ, in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, Manæ, et aliis locis dominii regis Magnæ Britanniæ ac pro personis eorundem regnorum et dominiorum tantum.

1. Absolvendi in dictis locis ab omnibus censuris reservatis in bulla Cœnæ Domini, et præsertim ab hæresi, etiam ecclesiasticos et regulares.

2. Concedendi apostolicam benedictionem, cum plenaria indulgentia, iis quos reconciliaverit.

3. Concedendi indulgentiam plenariam quotannis in festis celebrioribus et in mortis articulo, et, si quotannis suorum peccatorum confessionem fecerint, etiam indulgentiam quadraginta ac quinquaginta dierum, ad libitum.

4. Commutandi vota simplicia, exceptis castitatis et religionis.

5. Dispensandi in tertio et quarto gradu in matrimoniis contractis, et dispensandi etiam in contrahendis, ob magnam necessitatem, etiam in secundo et tertio conjunctim.

6. Benedicendi vestimenta sacra et alia omnia quæ pertinent ad sacrificium missæ; et consecrandi calices, patenas, et altaria portabilia, oleo tamen ab episcopo benedicto.

7. Dispensandi cum sacerdotibus ut, quando non possunt sine periculo portare breviarium et recitare officium, possint supplere dicendo aliquos psalmos, vel alias orationes quas memoriter sciunt.

England and the Holy See. The Spanish match.

The protracted negotiations in connection with the projected marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales, to the Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV. of Spain, were the occasion of a considerable amount of communication between the English

8. Tenendi et legendi libros hæreticorum et quoscumque prohibitos, ad effectum illos impugnandi, et aliis similem facultatem communicandi; ita tamen ut prædicti libri non extrahantur extra illas regiones, nisi ad effectum tales libros mittendi ad nuncios sedis apostolicæ, sive ad tribunal sanctissimæ inquisitionis.

9. Concedendi facultatem iis, unde spes aliqua divini cultus promovendi appareat, retinendi apud se et legendi catholicos libros quoscumque vulgari sermone conscriptos, etiam de rebus in religione controversis, quotiescumque ita in Domino videtur expedire.

10. Dispensandi cum ecclesiasticis super quibuscumque suspensionibus, inhabilitatibus, et irregularitatibus, præterquam homicidii voluntarii.

11. Celebrandi missas quocumque loco decenti, etiam sub dio, subtus terram, tribus horis ante lucem hyeme, una hora post meridiem, etiam super altari portabili, bis in die ubi necessitas id postulaverit, et dummodo sint jejuni, et coram hæreticis aliisque personis excommunicatis, dummodo minister non sit hæreticus, etiam sine ministro, et respondente femina in necessitate.

12. Hostiam sacram servandi loco decenti, sine lumine et aliis cæremoniis quibus uti solet ecclesia.

13. Administrandi sacramenta omnia, excepta confirmatione et ordinibus, quibuscumque personis eorundem capacibus, omissis per necessitatem cæremoniis solitis, non tamen necessariis.

14. Imprimendi et edendi libros catholicorum, tacito nomine auctoris, loci, typographi, et reliquorum, non obstante concilio Tridentino.

15. Dispensandi cum conversis ad fidem catholicam super fructibus bonorum ecclesiasticorum male perceptis, et absolvendi omnes Anglos et Scotos tantum reconciliatos a retentione bonorum ecclesiasticorum, accepta ab eis promissione de stando judicio ecclesiæ quandocumque circa eorum restitutionem, illis interim admonitis ut faciant eleemosynas de fructibus, ex judicio confessarii, in catholicos pauperes, et memores sint illa bona esse revera ecclesiæ.

16. Applicandi piis usibus bona restituenda incerto domino aut hæretico.

Court and the Holy See. In the Borghese archives in Rome is preserved an interesting document from the pen of Paul V., in which the Pontiff lays down, with much care and minuteness, the various objections to the proposed alliance. Among these, besides the danger to the Catholic party inseparable from every mixed marriage, he includes the disposition of King James towards his Catholic subjects, and the condition of religious matters in his dominions. The Pope makes special reference to the absence of all liberty of conscience in Great Britain, and lays down as an indispensable condition for the granting of the necessary dispensation the full toleration of the Catholic religion, and the permission to Catholics openly to practise their religious duties.[1] Paul V. died in 1621; while the ne-

17. Dispensandi, quando id sibi expedire videbitur, super esu carnium, ovorum, ac lacticiniorum, tempore quadragesimæ.

18. Restituendi jus petendi debitum, quando ex aliqua causa amissum est.

19. Cum facultate communicandi aliis sacerdotibus in partibus illis laborantibus, quos idoneos compererit; id tamen non nisi magno hominum delectu et considerate fiat.

20. Quod R. P. D. nuncius apostolicus, pro tempore in Gallia Parisiis degens, sit ordinarius Anglorum et Scotorum, cum omni potestate quam habent ordinarii in eorum diœcesibus, cum facultate dispensandi ad ordines sacros, ob defectum natalium, cum omnibus dictorum regnorum.

Feria quinta, die 23 Julii, 1615. Sanctissimus Dominus noster, Paulus, divina providentia Papa V., in congregatione generali sancti officii, habita in palatio apostolico Montis Quirinalis, concessit supradictas facultates R. D. Gulielmo Harrisono, archi-presbytero Anglo. Cardinalis Mellinus,—*cum sigillo.*

[1] For the text of this document, see Appendix XIII.

gotiations were still in progress; but they were continued under his successor, Gregory XV. In April 1623, learning that the Prince of Wales had himself gone to Madrid in order to press his suit in person, Gregory addressed to him a courteous letter, in which he expressed approval of his design, and at the same time urged him in moving terms to return to the bosom of the Roman Church.[1] The Pope's letter was delivered to the prince in the month of June by Mgr. Massimi, the nuncio at Madrid; and Charles replied to it without delay, assuring his Holiness that nothing was further from his mind than any action which might seem to betoken abhorrence of the Catholic religion.[2] Meanwhile James was pressing on the projected marriage, in the belief that an alliance with Spain would give him a decisive voice in the councils of Europe, which was distracted by the Protestant insurrection in Austria, and the pretensions of his son-in-law, the Elector-Palatine, to the Bohemian throne. Philip IV. appointed a commission of theologians and others, who formu-

Letter addressed by Gregory XV. to the Prince of Wales.

[1] See Appendix XIV.

[2] The text of the prince's letter is given by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v. Append., No. cccxiv.) "Sed sanctitas vestra," he writes, "hoc sibi persuasum habeat, eam nostram esse, semperque imposterum futuram, moderationem, ut non solum quam longissime a nobis suspicionem omnem removebimus, atque ab omni demum actu temperabimus, qui aliquam præ se speciem ferat nos a Romana catholica religione abhorrere, sed omnes potius captabimus occasiones, quo leni benignoque rerum processu sinistræ omnes suspiciones e medio penitus tollantur."

lated a series of articles embodying the conditions required by the Pope and the Spanish Crown. To these was afterwards added the unusual stipulation that the consummation of the marriage and the departure of the Infanta to England should be delayed until the fulfilment of certain articles of the marriage treaty. The intemperate urgency displayed by the English monarch, as well as the persecuting spirit which at this very time he was manifesting towards his Catholic subjects, had inspired mistrust and suspicion in the Spanish Court, and prompted the addition of the foregoing stipulation. At this crisis of affairs occurred the death of Gregory XV. (July 14, 1523), and the prince was informed that matters could not be arranged until a fresh dispensation was obtained from his successor. Irritated at these successive obstacles, Charles left Madrid and returned to England, leaving, however, a procuration empowering the King of Spain to represent him at the marriage ceremony.[1] Meanwhile the intrigues of Buckingham, the powerful favourite of King James, who had accompanied the Prince of Wales to Spain and had incurred the enmity of Olivarez, the Spanish minister, were directed towards a permanent rupture of the negotiations; and in this he proved successful. Bishop, the

[1] *Cod. Vatican.*, Ottobr., 579, fol. 131. "Relatione sommaria della venuta del Principe di Galles a Madrid, e del trattato del Matrimonio con la serenissima Infanta di Spagna."

recently appointed vicar-apostolic for Great Britain, wrote in December 1623 that the procuration had been withdrawn, and the idea of the marriage finally abandoned, adding that Buckingham was believed to be already negotiating for an alliance between the prince and a daughter of France.[1]

The marriage project abandoned.

James had already, some ten years before, been in treaty with the Court of France for an alliance between his eldest son Henry and Princess Christina, second daughter of Henry IV. The premature death of the Prince of Wales in 1614 had put an end to the negotiations; but on the failure of the Spanish match, the King of England renewed his overtures to the Court of Louis XIII., with the object of obtaining the hand of his sister, Henrietta Maria, for Prince Charles. The Capuchin father Giacinto da Casale, who was then living at Brussels, and was kept informed of the state of religious matters in England, wrote to the nuncio at Paris on January 4, 1624, urging him to use his influence to obtain in the new marriage contract even better terms, if possible, for the English Catholics than had been guaranteed in the Spanish treaty.[2] He also made similar representations in a letter which he addressed to Cardinal Barberini in Rome. Mean-

Negotiations of James with the Court of France.

[1] Dr Bishop's letter is given in Appendix XV.

[2] See Rocco da Cesinale, *Storia delle Missioni dei Capuccini*, tom. ii. p. 422.

while King Louis had despatched De Bethune and Father Berulle (superior of the French Oratory) on a mission to Rome to obtain the necessary dispensation. The instructions given to Berulle, under date July 31, 1624, state that the matter is one of great moment for the interests of the Church in general, and in particular for those of the Catholics of Great Britain. About the same time the King of France wrote to Cardinal Barberini: "One of the most important of those affairs in which the Catholic Church claims to have a special concern, is the proposed marriage of my sister Henrietta to the Prince of Wales. As I am desirous of arranging it not only with a view to the advantage of the Catholic religion, but also out of the friendship and esteem which I bear towards the King of England, I am anxious before all things to be in accord with the wishes of his Holiness. With this object I am sending to Rome Father Berulle, the superior of the Oratory, who will be able to communicate my sentiments and the present situation of the matter. My ambassador, Monsieur de Bethune, will accompany him; and I beg of you to listen favourably to what they have to say respecting the important bearing of these negotiations in the interests of the Catholics of England." [1]

The interview between Pope Urban VIII. and

[1] Rocca da Cesinale, *op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 424. The original correspondence is preserved in the Mazarin Library at Paris.

Pope Urban VIII. and the French match.

the French envoys was described by the Cardinal-Secretary in a cipher despatch addressed to the archbishop of Damietta, the nuncio in Paris, on October 2, 1624. The Pope complained that the affair was treated somewhat lightly at the French Court, and that certain expressions used by the nuncio had been misunderstood. What he required first of all was, that a public place of Catholic worship should be provided for the queen's use, and that all Catholics (not merely, as Berulle proposed, those specially invited by her majesty) should enjoy free access to the same. There were other points also—in particular the question of the choice of attendants and instructors for the children of the marriage, and likewise that of the oath to observe the conditions of the marriage, to be taken by the English Privy Council—with regard to which the views of the Gallican ecclesiastic were not deemed altogether satisfactory. "Father," the Pope is said to have at last asked him, "are you aware that during the negotiations with France, the King of England endeavoured to obtain for his son the hand of a princess of Saxony, the reply which he received being that she should not marry a Calvinist?" Berulle at this, says the cardinal, "shrugged his shoulders." Urban was desirous that King James should enter into a direct engagement with the Holy See with reference to his promise to put a stop to the persecution of his Catholic subjects; but he relin-

quished the idea, on the king representing to him that such a proceeding would cost him his crown. On November 10th the articles of the marriage treaty were finally agreed upon. They were thirty in number; and of these, nine—from the seventh to the fifteenth—were intended to secure the religious liberty of the princess. "The sister of the king," it is declared, "shall, together with her children and household, enjoy full freedom in the practice of the Roman Catholic apostolic faith, for which purpose a chapel for her use shall be provided in each of the royal palaces, as well as a bishop and twenty-eight chaplains for preaching and the administration of the sacraments. The children who may be the issue of the marriage shall be brought up in the Catholic religion until their thirteenth year. The whole of the queen's attendants shall belong to the Catholic Church." In three other articles it is stipulated that the king and the Prince of Wales solemnly undertake to set at liberty all Catholics presently imprisoned for disobedience to the recent decree. For the future the Catholics of England shall not be troubled on account of their religion, nor compelled to take oaths which their religion condemns. The property confiscated both from the clergy and laity, in virtue of the late decree, shall be restored to them. Pope Urban took exception to the last of these articles as being too limited in its application. The issue of the dispensation,

Articles of the marriage treaty.

the object of Berulle's mission to Rome, was delayed week after week; and a Capuchin father was sent from France to endeavour to hurry matters on. The Pope, in fact, delayed granting the dispensation as long as possible, in the hope of preventing the marriage; and he only issued it at last when he saw that Louis was inclined to act without him. Almost simultaneously with the papal act arrived the news of the death of King James, on March 27, 1625.[1] Three days later the marriage treaty was ratified by Charles, now King of England; and in the first week of May[2] the nuptials were celebrated by Cardinal Rochefoucault, on a platform outside the great door of Notre Dame at Paris, the royal bridegroom being represented by proxy. On the young queen's arrival in England, the marriage contract was renewed in the great hall at Canterbury, and the royal pair thereafter entered London by water, amid the acclamations of their subjects. Heavy rain was falling at the time,[3] ominous, as it seemed, of the clouds that were so soon to overshadow the happiness of the young bride. The good Pontiff's

Marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria.

[1] It would seem clear, however, that the dispensation was not granted until the middle of April, some days subsequent to the arrival of the news of the king's death. See Barberini MS., cited by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v., p. 159); and Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. viii. p. 20.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] May 8. Miss Strickland, for some unexplained reason, gives the date as May 21.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Ellis's *Historical Letters*. See Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. viii. p. 28.

presentiments that the union would prove an inauspicious one, were more than justified by the event.[1] We learn from the queen's own words, writing some years later to Cardinal Barberini, what were her feelings at witnessing the violation of her marriage articles by the continued persecution of her fellow-Catholics in England.[2]

The English Catholics.

While the negotiations for the Spanish match were still pending, the English Catholics were at the same time persevering in their endeavours to obtain from the Holy See the appointment of a bishop for the government of the Church in England. The arch-priest Father Harrison had, on the very eve of his death, which occurred on May 11, 1621, despatched to Rome, with this object, a secular priest named John Bennet. "The demand," wrote the nuncio Panzani to Pope Urban VIII., "was secretly made, under pretence of seeking a dispensation for marriage between the sister of the King of Spain and the then prince, the King of England. William Bishop, Matthew Kellison, Richard Smith, Edward Bennett, John Bossevil, and Cuthbert Trollope, were the persons nominated for this dignity, and the selection fell upon William Bishop." [3]

[1] *Barberini MS.* (Tierney, *Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v. p. 159). "Urbano fù sempre presago dell' infelicità di tal matrimonio, ed andò trattenendo la concessione della dispensa finchè fù possibile; ma poscia consentiva quasi a niuna forza, per ovviare a' scandali maggiori, ed acciocchè non si celebrasse senza l'autorità apostolica."

[2] See Appendix XVII.

[3] Cited by Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 67.

Appointment of a vicar-apostolic for England and Scotland, March 23, 1623.

On March 23, 1623, he was appointed bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus*, and vicar-apostolic of England and Scotland; and on June 4 he was consecrated at Paris. Bishop, who came of a good Warwickshire family, was born in 1553, and went in 1570 to Oxford, where he spent some three years. Becoming dissatisfied with the Protestant religion, he abandoned his patrimony to his younger brother, left England, and entered the college at Douai. Here, and afterwards at Rheims and at Rome, he pursued for several years his theological studies, and in 1583 he was ordained priest. He was immediately sent to the mission in England, where he was twice imprisoned and sentenced to banishment. On January 31, 1602, Bishop, together with twelve other priests, signed the so-called "protestation of allegiance," which had been required by Queen Elizabeth from all Catholic missionaries.[1] Notwithstanding this act of compliance, he was again imprisoned some years later, remaining in confinement until 1612. On his release he repaired to France, and lived for

[1] The text of the protestation is given by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. iii. Append. xxxvi.) It was condemned by the divines of Louvain as theologically unsound, and Anthony Champney was removed from his office of confessor to the Brussels nuns for having signed it. It is certainly remarkable that the chief author of a document embodying such questionable sentiments should have been, twenty years later, selected as first vicar-apostolic for England. It is possible, of course, that in the interval he had given evidence of a change in his views with regard to the authority of the Holy See. See, however, the opinion of the French nuncio, cited below, p. 437, note.—TRANSLATOR.

several years in the Arras College, at Paris, with a small community of English priests, who were chiefly engaged in controversial writing.[1] On his consecration as vicar-apostolic for England, the nuncio at the French Court addressed to him a letter of instruction, dated July 13, 1623, and containing much excellent counsel and advice. The new prelate is especially exhorted to promote peace and unity among the faithful, to maintain clerical discipline, to show himself kindly disposed towards the religious orders, especially the Society of Jesus, and to respect their lawful privileges. The Catholic people under his care are to be instructed to pay due obedience to the civil power; "for," adds the nuncio, "those who in ecclesiastical matters refer all things to one invisible Head of the Church—that is, Christ; and to one visible head—that is, the supreme Pontiff His vicar,—can-

His instructions from the French nuncio.

[1] It is doubtless to this that the nuncio refers in his letter to Cardinal Borghese, dated March 26, 1613 (*Arch. Vatic., Nuntiat. di Francia*, vol. lv.) "Questi Dottori Inglesi ritiratisi qua per ordine dell' Arciprete d'Inghilterra, per scrivere con più commodità contro gli Ugonoti di quel Regno, sanno ch' io sono prontissimo ad ajutargli in ogni loro occorrente, e chi è di bisogno e nominatamente con la Regina e con i ministri."

Dr Bishop himself had at an earlier period published a number of polemical works in reply to writings of Abbot, afterwards Anglican bishop of Salisbury. Bishop's works were reprinted immediately after his death, under the collective title of "Maister Perkin's Reformed Catholyque, together with Maister Robert Abbot's Defence thereof," &c. (Douay, 1625, 4°). He also wrote 'A Defence of the King's Honour, and his Title to the Kingdom of England,' and edited Dr Pitt's valuable work, 'De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus.' See Gillow's *Bibliograph. Dict. of Engl. Cath.*, vol. i. pp. 221-223.

not but cherish, uphold, and defend the monarchical principle also in the civil polity. You should therefore, in my opinion," he continues, "diligently enjoin both the laity and the clergy to offer up very frequently their prayers and sacrifices for the welfare of the king, and to implore Almighty God soon to call him back into the bosom of the Catholic, Roman, and Apostolic Church." The instruction concludes with a warning that all opinions opposed in any way to the authority of the Holy See must be sedulously rooted out, and those who hold them brought back into due subjection to the Roman Pontiff.[1]

Action of the new prelate.

The course followed by the new vicar-apostolic was not altogether in accordance with the prudent counsels of the nuncio. Apparently under the impression that he had been constituted a true Ordinary over the kingdom, he at once proceeded to institute a dean and chapter, and to divide the whole of England into archdeaconries and rural deaneries.[2] This measure, however—which, it must be added, was never formally approved by the Holy See—was not extended to Scotland; and the Church in that country appears to have claimed but slight share in the attention of the

[1] The text of the Instruction is given in Appendix XVIII.

[2] See Tierney, *Dodd's Hist.*, vol. iv. Append. lviii. *Instrumentum Capituli Cleri Anglicani, per Gulielmum Bishop, Episcopum Chalcedonensem, instituti*, Sept. 10, 1623. "Decanum et capitulum in ecclesia Anglicana nostræ pastorali sollicitudini commissa erigendum, constituendum et instaurandum curavimus."

prelate. Very shortly after his departure from Paris, the nuncio expressed his belief that Bishop was little inclined to trouble himself about the Scots, who, on their side, had already appealed against his jurisdiction.[1] In the year following his consecration he petitioned Urban VIII. to be relieved from the charge of the Scottish Church; and his prayer was accompanied by a similar memorial from the Scots themselves, through Chambers, their agent in Rome.[2] The memorialists, in this latter document, laid great stress on the ancient enmity between the two nations, and the disastrous consequences that had followed every attempt to subject their Church to the jurisdiction of English prelates. They pointed out that the English had no acquaintance with the affairs of Scotland, and that the necessity of recurring to a bishop in England, in reserved cases and similar matters, would lead to endless difficulties and annoyances. To the argument that a bishop was necessary in order to confer the sacra-

The Scotch memorial.

[1] *Archiv. Vatic.* (*Nunt. di. Franc.*) The Nuncio to Cardinal Bandini, Paris, July 7, 1623. "Quello prelato come allievo della Sorbona tiene alcuni opinioni, che non sono molto favorevoli all' autorità della Sede Apostolica, e fù fra quelli che al regno della Regina Elisabetta si sottomisero ad un giuramento molto scandaloso, come dall' incluso foglio ella potrà vedere. . . . Gli Scozzesi reclamano da quest' ordine, desiderando non essere congiunti con gl' Inglesi à quali naturalmente son molto avversi, nè a me pare che il Vescovo se ne curi molto, ma forse ne sarà parlato a V. S. Ill^ma^ dal Signor Cardinal Barberini."

[2] Both documents are printed by Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v., Append. xl.)

ments of confirmation and orders, they rejoined that the proper place for their clergy to be ordained was, for many reasons, the seminaries or monasteries where they had been educated; and that as for confirmation, they had hitherto been obliged to go without that sacrament, and it was not expedient, for the sake of gaining one good thing, to subject themselves to so many disadvantages: God would supply what was wanting through no fault of theirs. This strong manifestation of feeling on the part of the Scottish Catholics ultimately led to their withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the vicar-apostolic of England, and subjection to their own missionary prefects.[1]

James VI. of Scotland and I. of England died,

[1] There is no foundation for the statement made by some writers that Gregory XV., almost immediately after Dr Bishop's appointment, ordered him to abstain from exercising his jurisdiction within the kingdom of Scotland. The Pope was said to have taken this step in an address afterwards sent to Innocent X. (Gradwell MS. 71, 72). "Ottenne subito l'ordine del pontefice, ch' egli s'astenesse dalla superiorità de' cattolici di Scozia." Cf. also Laemmer, *Mantissa*, p. 321. "Quale [facoltà] per li richiami delli Scozzesi gli *fu subito levata;*" and Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. pp. 71, 72. The memorials from the Scottish Catholics, and from Bishop himself, addressed to the Pope in 1624, show that up to that time, at all events, he had issued no such order. But as a matter of fact, there is no proof that any attention was paid to these representations. Bishop died before they reached the Pope, and his successor, as we shall see, was appointed vicar-apostolic both of England and Scotland, and continued so to style himself for more than twenty years. It was not until 1653, shortly before his death, that the first local prefect of the mission was appointed for Scotland in the person of Father Ballantyne. See Tierney, *Dodd's Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 93, cclxiii.; and *post*, vol. iv. chap. i.—TRANSLATOR.

as already mentioned, at the end of March 1623, after a reign of twenty years, which had brought little but calamity and suffering to the Catholics of his native land. Little else, indeed, could have been expected from a monarch in whose character poltroonery and dissimulation were so strangely blended, and whose sole rule of conduct, alike in matters of Church and of State, appeared to be the political expediency of the moment.[1] His prevailing sentiment towards all who professed the ancient faith was one of bitter hostility, to which he was only too ready to give expression; and we have seen to what extent he was willing to permit the unfortunate "Papists" to be sacrificed to the fanatical violence of the Kirk. The only child of a Catholic queen, conspicuous throughout Christendom no less for her constancy to her religion than for her unparalleled misfortunes, James had ascended the throne of his ancestors amid the most sanguine anticipations of his Catholic subjects. It needs but a glance at the religious records of the time to tell us how soon and how grievously those hopes were disappointed.

Death of King James, March 27, 1623.

[1] For a contemporary estimate of the character of James, see Appendix XIX.

APPENDIX.

I. (p. 93).

LETTER FROM MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO WILLIAM CHISHOLM, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE, CHARGING HIM TO ENTREAT POPE PIUS V. TO COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE REALM OF SCOTLAND. Edinburgh, April 1, 1566.

(*Cod. Vatic. Urbin.* 1040, p. 203.)

Tradutione di una lettera della Regina di Scotia, scritta a Monsignor Vescoro Dumblane il 1° Aprile.

Dopoi gl' ultimi avisi mandassimo al nostro zio il Cardinale di Lorena, siamo ritornata alla terra Regale di Edinburgh, et per maggior sicurezza nostra ci siamo ritirata nel Castello, perchè noi crediamo che questi ribelli cospirati che hora sono tutti fuggiti in Inghilterra, li quali sono di spirito tanto maligno, sicome essendo nel nostro regno, persuaderano assai questi Signori, che cosi hora trovandosi in Inghilterra siano per praticare con quella Religione[1] di levar gente et dinari contra di noi, di modo che, se non siamo agiutati dal nostro Santo Padre, dubitiamo d'essere sforzati di pigliare li partiti colle conditioni che essi vogliono, o veramente di lasciare il Regno et la vita. Però vi comandiamo che per detti rispetti, et per la destruttione di questa nostra Chiesa, di qua è l'importanza nostra e de nostri sudditi, li quali tutti siamo esausti

[1] Apparently an error. The word should perhaps be "Regina" [or "regione"].

per li travagli passati, che mostrate al detto nostro Santo Padre, che senza agiuto suo, dopo quello che speriamo da Dio, non è possibile in alcun modo di salvar la Religione cattolica dalla ultima ruina; et però pigliamo Iddio per testimonio di questa nostra diligenza in questa materia; implorando per adesso l'agiuto del Papa per questo Regno tanto travagliato, che come ho gia detto siamo sforzati di pigliare li partiti che vogliono li nostri rebelli et heretici, sapiate per certo, che più presto lasciaremo il Regno et ancora la vita che pigliar tal partito, et cosi direte al detto nostro Santo Padre, che scarichiamo noi stessa e rimettiamo in tutto il carico a Sua Santità.

II. (p. 94).

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO PIUS V. BY THE BISHOP OF DUNBLANE IN THE NAME OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTS, APRIL 11, 1566.

(*Cod. Barberin.* xxx. 170.)[1]

Recitata fuit coram S. D. N. per Episcopum Dumblanensem pro obedientia præstanda nomine Serenissimorum Reginæ et Regis Scotorum. 1566, Mense Aprili 11.

Ad laudem omnipotentis Dei.

Cum Lutetiæ Parisiis agerem, Pater Beatissime, neque ulla de re minus, quam de tanto mihi injuncto munere cogitarem, ecce ex insperato mandata ad me perlata fuere, quibus apud T. S. legati pro Scotorum Regina Domina mea serenissima, serenissimoque Rege, personam sustinens, adirem præcipiebatur. Equidem etsi meæ tenuitatis non immemor, tamen aut Principibus meis non obedire, aut in tam pia tamque cum Religione conjuncta causa deficere, nefas prorsus esse duxi: atque ita legatione suscepta, celeri equo Lutetia profectus Illustrissimum Cardinalem a Lotharingia mihi iustis de causis invisendum ratus. Eo ubi appulissem (tum Varenniis

[1] The manuscript is in very imperfect preservation, various portions of it being destroyed or undecipherable.

agebat),[1] renunciavit mihi rem bonis omnibus merito sane molestam, tumultus a flagitiosis istis et sceleratis hominibus hereticis excitatos, in Reginam nostram recidisse. Verum quod aut rei indgnitas, aut locus unde ortus rumor hic percrebuerat, firmam sui non statim in hominum ore opinionem atque fidem generaret; decretum est, ut Varenniis discedens, Lugduni tamdiu hærerem, quoad certi aliquid et explorati haberemus; atque ita factum est. Egi diebus aliquot Lugduni, ibique rem talem ac tantam ut sese habet intellexi, ut lætandum an dolendum magis esset, vix ipse scirem. Lætitiam offerebat e crudelissimorum satellitum, tanquam e mortis faucibus erepta innocentissimæ Reginæ vita, dolorem augebat rebellium virorum inhumanitas, atque eo miseriarum in Scoto Regno devenisse nos, ut tam flagitiosa admitti viderent proborum qui illic vivunt lacrimis turgida lumina.

Hæc qualia sint, ipse P. B. vide. Quo tempore celebres Conventus, jubente Serenissima Regina, in Regio Edimburgi oppido celebrabantur, ut in rebelles hos animadversio decerneretur atque avita catholica Romana pietas et fides ab eo Regno iam pæne exul in mentes revocaretur, christianæ fidei infestissimi hostes ac Reginæ perfidi homines veniam quam a sapientissima muliere obtinere non poterant, a novo Rege, regnandi cupiditate electo impetraverunt, cui dum Regium præter morem maiorum diadema pollicentur, aditum sibi promissis ad Conventus patefaciunt idque Regina inscia. Itaque paternas domos repetendi potestate accepta, Edimburgum pridie ejus diei, quo extremus Conventus futurus erat appellunt, eoque ipse die, a cæna Regiam aulam ingressi, ubi paulo ante cum Regina Rex ipse cænam sumpserat, coram principibus nostris ad decimam octavam horam[2] Davidem Ricciolum, serenissimæ Reginæ secretarium præstantissimum, integerrimumque virum crudelissime confodiunt. Hæc fortissima Regina animadvertens, in cubiculum sese recipens, non iam quieti assueta loca, sed in carcerem commutata ingreditur. Nam statim catapul-

[1] Varennes (Dep. Meuse).

[2] According to the Italian method of reckoning (= *circ.* 6 P.M.)

tarii custodes octoginta a nefariis adhibiti, in tantas augustias tenellam Reginam conjecerunt, ut nullum non dicam familiarem virum, sed ne mulierem quidem ejus invisendæ gratia eam adire paterentur, ac si quid inferebatur cibi, non inexploratum proponebatur. Tres in Regia tum erant præcipui Comites pii ac miseræ Reginæ fidelissimi, qui cum illi opem ferre non possent, et Regia egredi prohiberentur, per fenestras salutem fuga quæsierunt. Quod simulatque hereticis rescitum fuit, Reginæ mortem Comitibus minati sunt, si ejus liberandæ causa exercitum ullum conscriberent. Interim inceptum opus rebelles apud Regem prosequebantur; quem suis verbis sic fascinarunt, ut se nonnisi Regio diademate accepto Conventibus interfuturum diceret. Hoc illi curarunt, ne in eorum damnum cum reliquis diceret (iret?). Verum ii, per quos Conventus celebrabantur, re intellecta, huc illucque diffugerunt, quod ab eo regi nollent, nec tamquam inusitatæ rei consentire. Rex his perspectis rebus, cum sibi ab his etiam, quos ipse revocaverat, non obtemperari videt, Reginam adit, peccasse in eam se fatetur ac supplex petita venia se omnibus medicinam adhibiturum pollicetur: rebelles ejus mortem sitire, aliud nihil (sed hoc sapientissimam non latebat); quos ad cædem designassent, quos in crucem præ Regiis foribus tollere vellent, Rex insuper aperuit. Interim admonet, quod si saluti non statim consulatur, actum de vita sit.

Qui hic ageret in mediis ærumnis mulier et tenera et a sex mensibus pregnans, et quod erat summum, diligentissime custodita? Sed est P. B. incredibili quodam robore animi septa. De fuga cogitat, et quidem mulieribus et maxime gravidis inusitata. Nam e altissima turri per funes descendere statuit, quo se in munitissimam arcem reciperet atque ita vitam retinere liceret. Dum quasi in vinculis, certe in carcere, innocentissima Regina detinetur, duo gravissima patientissime p[erferebat]. Etenim quam indignissime tractata, minas, conviciaque turpissima præsente marito tulit, memor opinor, qua est virtute, ejus, qui pro se non contumelias modo sed etiam tormenta perpessus fuit. Alterum, dum

binos dies, ternas noctes in his augustiis transigit, Regis nomine proclamari atque Papistas (sic enim Catholicos nominant) urbem egredi iuberi cum suis omnibus, novos etiam Conventus,[1] quibus Reginæ Regni administratio interdiceretur. Quam hoc illi molestum fuit, presertim (quum sibi persuasum), se in aliquod Castrum detrudendam, et per rebelles Regnum administrandum. Addam unum magno animi mei dolore, quod nescio an aures T. B. ferre possint. Decreverant, ut si Castrum ubi ipsa esset a fidis eius subditis oppugnaretur, membratim discerptam et in [partes] sectam e muris convulsa membra dejicerent, ne esset quod amplius fidi amici ac subditi. . . .

Hic Rex tam crudeles viros ferre non valens, Reginam territus ac tremens adit, ac ei de vita suadet, se ei commoriturum pollicetur. De eo fugæ consilio, quod exposui, cogitabant Principes nostri Catholici, sed de meliore providit Deus. Nam cum illud statuissent r[ebel]les, non prius eam ex palatio, in quo captiva detinebatur, in Arcem, hoc est in carcerem, deducendam, quam impiis eorum decretis subscripsisset: at Regina admonitus Rex suasit, eam libertate donandam, ne retractare deinde posset. Interim se facturum, ut, quod illi vellent, Regina faceret, ac se ejus Custodem futurum. Credunt illi . . . liberant, magistrum regiorum militum illi adesse patiuntur. Nocte intempesta, Rex, Regina, cum magistro militum et famulo, cursu veloci, sub auroram ad munitissimam arcem appulerunt: sic erepti e laqueo venantium fuerunt, et de manibus quærentium animam eorum. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Pater Beatissime, si qua pie[tas] vicit, quæ certe in T. S. summa est, miserere afflictæ, in cujus necem tam multi conspirant. Quis non indignissimum ejus acerbissimumque casum doleat! Quis ejus nocturnas fugas, timores diurnos animo volvens, non illi ex animo compatiatur! Quis denique fluctus in innocentissimam Reginam irrumpentes conspicatus, non se tamquam aggerem quantum possit opponat! Si

[1] A word is wanting here—probably "convocari."

miseria excitat, hæc miserrima est, si indignitas commovet, quid hoc facto indignius? Si innocentia permovet, quid ista sanctissima muliere integrius? Hinc P. B. quodammodo cernere licet, in quantis difficultatibus et periculis versentur non solum Regina nostra, sed et tota Ecclesia Scoticana, quæ jam plane extincta fuisset, nisi obstitisset excelsa singularis et pæne incredibilis, ejusdem Reginæ virtus et integritas, quæ vel me tacente ipsa per se amplum divini auxilii præbet testimonium. Quantum vero erga Ecclesiam catholicam et apostolicam sedem studii habeat, vel inde etiam conjicere licet, quod meipsum huc ad T. S. destinasset, quo eorum vice (Regem etiam comprehendo) T. S. tamquam supremo totius Ecclesiæ Pastori ac vero B. Petri apostolorun Principis successori de tam felici et honore et onere gratularer.[1] . . . Deo gratias agunt, tam afflictis christianæ Reipublicæ temporibus, in tantis procellis, claves ejus regendæ a Spiritu Sancto T. S. traditas fuisse. Nihil certe potuit christiano orbi accidere jucundius, nam in media densaque caligine, orbi Lux quædam oborta fuisse videtur. . . . Alterum vero, ut quas obedientias T. S^ti. tamquam Christi in terris vicario Reges [debent] et oscula, ipsorum nomine deferam atque pollicear. Hanc vero legationem serenissima Domina mea Regina publicam solemnem honoratissimam fieri statuit, cum omnibus suis cæremoniis consuetis necessariis requisitis. Verum propter difficultates et tumultus seu verius tragedias jam dictis, in aliud tempus huic officio magis opportunum ista differre necessarium est. Neque enim a majorum suorum tramite Regina Rexque noster deflectent, sicut cæteris in rebus, ita nec in hoc quidem voto persolvendo. A quibus illud acceperunt ut Sedem Apostolicam et in ea pro tempore sedentes venerentur, ament, suspiciant, obediant. Qua in obedientia rectaque fide quam se constanter gesserit Regina, vel ea sola quæ toto hoc sexennio proxime elapso (ex quo Regno Galliæ egressa est) pro sancta Catholica Romana

[1] Some such phrase as the following is wanting: "Primum, quod cum S. T. communicare jussus sum, est quod . . ."

religione in Regno Scotiæ restauranda passa est, omnibus manifestissimum faciunt.

Superest, ut quod tertio et ultimo loco dicendum fuit, paucis aperiam. Cum se ii, a quibus missus fui ad T. B., ecclesiæ filios agnoscant, hoc tanquam a communi parente obnixissime petunt, ut quam liberalitatem tuorum prædecessorum experti sunt, eandem hodie quoque per Te experiantur, ac sibi a Te benedici postulant, et opem, consilium, auxilium implorant. Illudque præcipue . . . ut eo freti et communiti, Dei in suo Regno [gloriam] promovere, fidem catholicam tueri ac conservare possint. Debetur hoc ipsis quidem multis nominibus, tum quod filii sint, quod antiquissimi . . . quod hujus semper sedis amantissimi extiterunt aviti illi Scotorum Reges, quibus inferiores non sunt fortassis, sed superiores, qui ejus Regni hodie gubernacula administrant. Equidem si T. S. non piissimum parentem, non vigilantissimum pastorem agnoscerem, facerem id quod in ejusmodi re faciendum quisque nuntii personam sustinens arbitraretur, ut verbis quam plurimis consilium . . . implorarem. Sed norunt omnes, quantus sit T. S. erga Christi greges et languidas oves amor, quarum heu nimius est apud nos numerus. Non . . . Tibi grave sit, ut ea promoveas, quibus christiana pietas confirmari . . . potest. Ac ne longiori prolixitate T. S. fastidius pæream, id ego tantum dicam: Cura P. B. et qui pater es, cura, ut quam beatæ [memoriæ] Victor, a Petro Apostolorum Principe decimus quintus, Scotorum Regno fidem obtulerit, eam T. S^tas non modo conservet, verum etiam pæne extinctam restituat. Dabit hoc T. S. ut [possis] Deus, et ubi dederit, acceptum feret. Tu æque Beatitudini Regnum illud immortales gratias aget, Laus Deo.

III. (p. 95).

Bishop Leslie's Account of the Scotch Mission of Laureo of Mondovi.[1]

Paralipomena ad historiam, comitia et annales Scotiæ Joannis Leslæi episcopi Rossensis, eodem auctore.

(*Archiv. Vatic. Politicor. Varior.*, xvi. 354.)

Venerat sub hæc tempora R^mus^ Dominus de Mondtui, Episcopus Montis Realis, a Pio Quinto Pontifice Maximo missus legatus a latere, ut Scotiam petens Reginam consolaretur, illique centum millia aureorum ad bellum inferendum hereticis, prout ab Episcopo Dumblacensi et Magistro Stephano Voltaro Reginæ nomine rogatus erat, daret, pollicereturque Pontificem nulla umquam in re defuturum, immo majora etiam si opus esset illi auxilia allaturum. Pluribus egit Regina cum per se tum per episcopum Rossensem et alios apud nobiles, ut liber illi tanquam Pontificis Maximi liberique Principis legato aditus in Scotiam pateret, quod percuperent nobiles Catholici Proceres, tamen sectarii et in primis *Moravienses* nulla ratione ad hoc adduci potuerunt. Quare Regina misso in Galliam Johanne Betono nobili et in primis Catholico multisque aliis nominibus commendato viro per eum se excusavit apud legatum partemque aliquam missæ a Pontifice pecuniæ recepit.

[1] Cardella (*Memoria Storiche*, tom. v. pp. 204-210) mentions that Bishop Laureo afterwards filled the post of nuncio in Poland, and was raised to the Cardinalate by Sixtus V. He died in Rome in 1592.

IV. (p. 323).

Acknowledgment by Father James Gordon, S.J., of Payments from the Papal Treasury to the Scotch Catholic Nobles, August 5, 1594.

(*Arch. Vatican. Collettanea d'Inghilterra, Scotia et Ibernia, fol.* 144.)

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Signore et Compare Oss^mo^! Li danari, che furon pagati in Scotia, furon pagati d'ordine di Papa Clemente, et l'Ill^mo^ Aldobrandino lo dette, d'ordine di Sua Santità a Mons. Malvasia Comm^o^, et ne gli dette in cifra, ne io so altri particolari, et nelli conti resi ci mostrò la giustificatione di detto pagamento et la partita dice in questo modo:

Et adì 18 gennaio 1595 scudi dodici mila pagati a me medemo per altrettanti ch' io ho pagato incontanti a Gio. Sapiretti, che li porta in Scotia per distribuirli conforme all' istruttione ch' ha di Mons. Comm^o^ per servitio della S^ta^ Sede apostolica come per minuta No. 98. Questo negotio lo trattava un certo Padre Giacomo Gordono della compagnia del Giesù et egli medesmio andò in Scotia et fra dette scritture ho anco ritrovato l'infrascritto ordine che fà detto Padre:

Mons. Gio. Sapiretti Pagator deputato della camera apostolica in Scotia, pagarete alli Signore conti de Huntlie; conte d'Anguse et conte d'Errol scudi nove mille cento sessanta di Francia a piache 64 per scudo, che sono scudi di piache 60 per scudo, scudi nove mille sette cento settanta et piache 40, quali se fanno loro pagare per assoldar gente contro li Heretici, et per difender questi buoni cattolici Scotsesi, che altrimente facendo stanno in grandissimo pericolo di esser tutti tagliati in pezzi, assicurandovi, che tale è la mente di N. S^re^ quali senza nissuna difficulta vi saranno fatti buoni et passati nelli vostri conti.

Di Boge di Gicht[1] adì 5. Agosto 1594.

Giacomo Gordono.

[1] In Aberdeenshire—the residence of the Gordons of Gicht.

Questo è quanto posso dire a V. S. Illma in questo particolare et credo che l'Illmo Aldobrandino ne sarà molto bene informato, et per fine le bacio con ogni affetto le mani pregandole dale Signore Dio ogni desiderato contento.

Di Firenze alli 4. Maggio 1613.

Di V. S. Illma et Rma Devotmo et affmo servitore

Girolamo Rossi.[1]

V. (p. 347).

Documents Relating to the Conversion to Catholicism of Anne of Denmark, Queen to James VI.

1. Letter from Father Gretser, S.J., to Prior Stuart of Ratisbon, enclosing Father Abercromby's account of the conversion of Queen Anne. Ingolstadt, August 19, 1612.

(*Biblioth. Nation., Paris. Fonds latins* 6051, *fol.* 49.)

Admodum Reverende in Christo pater!

Ignoscat oro R. V., quod ad humanissimas litteras tam sero respondes. Non oblivione id accidit, et nescio qua incuria et dum quotidie scribere status sesqui mensis propemodum abierit. P. Grimeum vidi antea libenter, mihi non facie sed nomine notum. Utinam multos popularium suorum ab hæresi reducat. Si quid ex libro meo contra Regem Angliæ[2] Scotis profuturum existimat, libere illo utatur, quia eo fine ilber ille scriptus est, ut quam plurimis prosit. Valde probo laudoque consilium R. V. de conscribenda vita Reginæ Mariæ, non deerit materia et quidem copiosissima eademque opera Buccanani mendaci refelli poterunt. Sed huic negotio non

[1] It does not appear to whom De Rossi's letter was addressed. The three earls' own acknowledgment of the sums paid to them appears in fol. 148. See the narrative of Mgr. Malvasia, *post*, Appendix VIII.

[2] See *ante*, p. 365, note. Hurter (*Nomenclat.*, i. 575) calls Gretser "vigilantissimus veritatis defensor."

invenio aptiorem quam aut Scotum aut Anglum. Nam his plura quam aliorum nationum eruditis de hac sanctissima Heroina comperta sunt. Nec video cur R. V. hoc onus defugere debeat. Multa jam extant scriptorum monumenta, variis quoque linguis, quorum lectione scriptor hujus vitæ lucubrationem suam mirifice et augere et illustrare poterit. Nec deerunt qui media suppeditant, et nisi fallor, inter chartas D. Turneii extat itidem manuscriptus de hac Regina commentariolus. Paulum Bernridensem pro Gregorio VII. tam diu quæsitum reperi tandem Viennæ, et jam ante biennium publicavi. Reperi insuper Gerhosum vel Gerhorsum Reicherspergensem, quem anno superiori edidi. Experiendo didici verum esse illud Evangelicum: Quærite et invenietis. Missa est ad me non ita pridem ex Polonia epistola Patris Roberti Scoti de hodierna Regina Scotiæ et Angliæ, cujus lectionem R. V. non injucundam fore censui, et ideo exemplar describendum curavi. Res est certa et extra omnem dubitationem. Pater vixit Braunsbergæ in Prussia decrepitæ jam ætatis. Commendo me sanctis precibus et sacrificiis R. V.

Ingolstadii, 19. Augusti, 1612.

Bonus noster dominus Hollingus superiore quadragesima migravit ad Dominum, cujus mortem nemo magis aut sentit aut sentiet quam vidua.

R. V. servus in Christo JACOBUS GRETSERUS.

2. Father Abercromby's narrative of the conversion of Queen Anne. Braunsberg, September 1608.

(*Biblioth. Nation., Paris. Fonds latins* 6051, *fol.* 50.)

Anno circiter 1600 cœpit cogitare de mutatione Religionis a Lutheranismo ad catholicam propter causas sequentes: Adduxerat secum in Scotiam ministrum quendam Danum Lutheranum, quem habuit a concionibus et sacrorum usu more Lutherano.[1]

[1] The chaplain's name was John Lering. See *Papers relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth* (Bannatyne, 1828), p. 37.

Id enim conventum est in contractu matrimonii, ut esset illi liberum de Religione, in qua nata est et educata. Successu temporis minister ipse repudiato Lutheranismo Calvinismum amplexus est. Quod cum domina percepisset, illius opera uti amplius [noluit], multum anxia quidnam esset faciendum, a Calvinismo enim valde abhorruit. Venit illi etenim in mentem quod cum in Germania in sua tenerrima ætate apud quandam magnam principissam Catholicam educaretur, vidit sacerdotem quotidie celebrantem, ex cujus recordatione ac amore illius principissæ, quæ fuit ni fallor neptis Caroli V., cogitavit de illa Religione amplectenda. Qua in re consuluit quosdam amicos suos catholicos præsertim unum comitem, quidnam esset faciendum? Qui suasit illi, omnino catholicam Religionem eam solam esse veram, reliquas sectas et hæreses, meque nominatum proposuit pro patre spirituali: unde post multa sum vocatus ad ipsam, in Palatium introductus, ubi triduo hæsi in cubiculo quodam secretiori, ad quod quotidie mane per horam catechisandi gratia accessit, remanentibus dominabus suis in exteriori cubiculo, regressa interius, tanquam literas scriptura exivitque semper cum carta in manu. Certo vero die sacro audito et sanctissimo sacramento ab ea recepto inde recessi.

Post communionem vix mansi integro biennio in Scotia. Quo tempore si bene memini novies sanctissimum sacramentum suscepit, idque summo mane dormientibus omnibus, exceptis paucis, quæ cum ipsa communicarunt. Post communionem semper piis usa est colloquiis, nunc optando maritum Catholicum, nunc filium in educatione pontificis summi, nunc de fœlicitate monialium, inter quas se vitam finituram non dubitare ajebat. Se magnum habere scrupulum, quod pro dote reditus haberet monasterii,[1] promisitque, si fieret mutatio Religionis, se monasterium legitimis possessoribus restituturam aut certe in collegium Gesuitarum mutaturam. Noluit in Angliam discedere nisi, me prius

[1] Dunfermline. See Spelman, *Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege* (ed. 1888), pp. 222, 223.

vocato, sanctissimo viatico esset præmunita, cum promissione me ad ipsam venturum in Angliam si me vocaret.

Ex quo frequenti usu sacramentorum percepit maritus, ipsam mutatam in melius, inde suspicatus ipsam consuetudinis aliquid habere cum sacerdote Papista. Quando quidem proprium ministrum jam contempsisset, cumque decumberent simul (ut ipsa mihi narravit), ita est eam affatus: Video in te magnam mutationem in gravitate, modestia, pietate, unde suspicor te conversari cum aliquo sacerdote Catholico. Falsa est illa, meque nominavit senem decrepitum, ad quod nihil aliud respondit quam: Rogo te, mea uxor, si non potes sine hujusmodi (sacerdote) vivere, utaris quam poteris secretissime, alias periclitabitur corona nostra. Post quod colloquium rex semper erga me mitior et benignior videbatur.

Egit porro serenissima cum quibusdam ex præcipuis aulicis, qui videbantur severiores contra sacerdotes, ne quicquam contra me molirentur, ni vellent ipsius indignationem incurrere, quod et promiserunt.

Accidit autem quiddam risu dignum, quod et ipsum risum provocavit Reginæ. Cum esset actio quædam de bonis inter præcipuum quendam aulicum hacreticum, et ministrum quendam, cœpit intercedere et loqui in favorem illius ministri. Cui respondit præfatus nobilis: Serenissima, per vulnera Christi narrabo et te apud patrem Robertum accusabo.

De statu præsenti scribit mihi præcipua domina ex Grineceo (Greenwich?), ipsam manere in eodem statu quantum ad Religionem, in quo ego ipsam reliqui, solum in hoc differre, quod non possint habere exercitium quale in Scotia habuerunt. Referam hic duos actus heroicos illius Reginæ, postquam in Angliam venit. Unum dum ad templum una cum rege ad coronationem veniret, statutum erat, ut ante coronationem communicarent more hæretico: quod rex statim facit. Recusavit Regina se nolle coronari, quam ipsorum communionem suscipere, etsi rex ipse ac consiliarii maxime ipsam urgerent. Alterum: semel nuncium Regis Hispaniæ visitavit tanquam honoris gratia, ubi et sacrum audivit et sanctissimum

Sacramentum suscepit. Quod cum rex rescivit, valde ipsam objurgavit, objiciens coronam suam et regnum eam perdituram. De filia[1] quid dicam? novi illam familiariter, dum novum vel decimum annum ageret, apud comitissam Catholicam educata optimis moribus est prædita.[2]

Braunspergæ mense Septembri anno 1608.

Robertus Arnbernbenig (Abercromby)
Psb. soc: jesu.

Admodum reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino Johanni Stuarto S. Benedicti monasterii Scotorum apud Ratisbonenses Priori, Patri et amico suo observando.[3]

3. Narratio de Statu Religionis apud Scotos, et de rationibus fidei Catholicæ in Magna Britannia restituendæ.

(*Cod. Barberin.*, xxxiv. 13, *fol.* 188.)

. . . De Regina.[4]

. . . Prolapsa itaque est pro fœminea fragilitate, sed nunc sesio et toto pectore arripere cœpit secundum post naufragium tabulam, pœnitentiam, et fletu ac charitatis operibus detergere anteactæ vitæ maculas. Suspirat dari sibi occasionem testificandi suum fidei catholicæ zelum et studium, aut adjurandi eorum labores, qui fidei negotium in Britannia sunt suscepturi. Pollicetur se Principis Catholicæ officio non defuturam ope, opera, consilio, ubi Principes Christiani de restituenda religione Catholica in Magna Britannia cogitationes susceperint, atque absque universa rerum suarum pernicie et ruina, quam certo scit sibi a Rege impendere, si quid resciverit, jam nunc paratissimam esse, ut publice se Catholi-

[1] Princess Elizabeth, afterwards wife of the Elector Palatine.

[2] The Countess of Linlithgow. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 15.

[3] The superscription is only on the copy of Father Abercromby's letter enclosed by Father Gretser. There is no address on the original document.

[4] The handwriting is of the beginning of the 17th century. Queen Anne died in March 1619, and was buried in the following May. See Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. vii. p. 133.

cam profiteatur . . . etiam constare se pridem dedisse argumenta hujus suæ devotionis, moliendo, quamvis frustra, ne filia hæretico elocaretur: et daturam deinceps etiam operam, at filius principis Catholicæ conditionem et matrimonium cogitet et ambiat. Summi vero Pontificis esse, omnium utpote patris, dispicere hac de re, quid debeant, et quibus conditionibus in Catholicorum jacentium et afflictorum bonum et solatium, meditari et concedere Principes Catholici. Rogat tandem, si quid hactenus peccavit, condonentur isti nævi sexui, conditioni, loco et temporum difficultatibus.

VI. (p. 352).

Scottish Students in the Seminary of Braunsberg (diocese of Ermland).

(*Ex Matricula Alumnatus Pontificii Brunsbergensis*, 1579-1642.[1])

1579. Martii. Ingellus *Gelonus* [Gillon?], Scotus, dimissus 18. Octob. 1585, quia non est aptus repertus ád statum ecclesiasticum.
1580. Aug. Daniel *Jung* [Young?], Scotus, 28. Jan. 1581, missus in patriam.
1582. Maii. Andreas *Boch*, Scotus, missus Vilnam 18. Martii 1584, ad continuanda studia.
1582. Novemb. David *Sobek*, Scotus, dimissus in Scotiam 1585, juvenis petulantissimus.
1584. Maii. Joannes *Vanus*, Scotus, 1585 missus Olmucium ad studia continuanda.
1584. 21. Mart. Joannes *Verus*, Scotus, item.
1586. 25. Apr. Petrus *Grimæus*, Scotus, factus Relig. S. J. 1588 docet philosophiam Gracii.
1587. Maii. Archibaldus *Andersonius*, Scotus, factus Relig. S. J. 1589.
1596. Julii. Daniel *Baton*, Scotus, missus in Germaniam 1597.
1596. Joannes *Butlerus*, Scotus, ultima Maii 1600 missus in Scotiam bonus catholicus.

[1] Communicated by the courtesy of Professor Hipler, Braunsberg. It will be seen that some of the names are hopelessly misspelt. The suggestions in brackets are the translator's.

1596. August. 6. Patricius *Abircrombæus*, Scotus, verbis reprehensus ob morositatem, clam aufugit 5. Maii 1601. Rediit postmodum pœnitens et religionem S. J. ingressus in ea pie vitam cum morte commutavit Pultoviæ 1611.

1596. August. 6. Wilhelmus *Duglasius*, Scotus, 29. Novembr. 1600. missus est Vilnam ad continuanda studia suis sumptibus, quia non fuit capax disciplinæ, periit sub Smolensca[1] vexillifer.

1596. August. 6. Jacobus *Lindsæus*, Scotus, missus Vilnam 29. Nov. 1600. Ubi religionem S. J. ingressus in ea cum laude vixit. Mortuus in Scotia a. 1624 cum per aliquot annos in ea missione laudabiliter vixisset.

1599. 27. Septbr. Thomas *Abircrombæus*, Scotus, missus Vilnam ad studia continuanda.

1599. 27. Septemb. David *Kinard* [Kinnaird ?], Scotus, discessit Vilnam 1601, inde ad religionem S. J., in qua manet. Bis philosophiam docuit, captivatus a Gustavo Brunsbergæ.[2] Ex captivate dimissus compluribus annis legit casus conscientiæ. Obit Nesvisii[3] 1648, 29. Martii.

1600. Octob. Georgius *Leslæus*, optimi ingenii, Scotus. Studet in Syntaxi, mortuus ex apostemata 8. Decemb. 1608 circa mediam noctem. Sancte mortuus, puer optimus Sentiens tentationem: Recede, inquit, díabole, nihil tibi mecum est; sum servus Christi.

1607. April. Patricius *Stichelius*, Scotus, annorum 25, discessit ad thermas curandæ valetudinis causa 3. Septemb. 1609, ingressus postmodum S. J., in qua nunc manet in Scotia.

1608. Aug. Jacobus *Leslæus*, Scotus, annorum 21. Intravit Societatem J. Romæ, in eadem cum laude tanquam fidelis operarius manet.

1609. Decemb. David *Setonus*, Scotus, annorum 19, Syntaxista.

1609. Decemb. Jacobus *Setonus*, Scotus, annorum 18.

1610. Thomas *Duffæus*, Scotus venit ex Vilnesi Alumnatu 1610: ann. 1611 factus est monachus in Pelplin, inde ob ineptitudinem dimissus.

1610. Gulielmus *Abyrcromby*, venit ex Vilnensi Alumnatu 1610, Scotus. Rhetor, missus est in patriam, ubi fructicavit inter Catholicos.

1610. Septemb. Alexander *Kennedy*, Scotus, annorum 24. Absoluto cursu philosophiæ discessit Romam studia finiturus.

[1] A.D. 1610.

[2] See Hipler, *Literaturgeschichte des Bisthums Ermland*, p. 176. Gustavus Adolphus entered Braunsberg on July 10, 1626.

[3] Niezvies, a town in Russian Poland, where there was a Jesuit College in connection with the seminary at Braunsberg.

1613. Febr. Archibaldus *Hegeth* [Hesketh or Heygate?], Scotus, annorum 23, abiit aspirans ad statum religiosum.
1613. Aug. Joannes *Leslæus*, Scotus, annorum 17, post Logicam missus est Romam.
1613. Andreas *Leslæus*, Scotus, annorum 16, post Logicam missus est Romam ad continuanda studia. Ingressus postea S. J., operarium agit in Scotia fidelissimum, factus sacerdos.
1615. Jul. Gulielmus *Sommerus*, Scotus, annorum 21, audit Grammaticam, propter valetudinem discessit in Scotiam.
1617. Octob. Robertus *Gareochus*, Scotus, annorum 20, ivit Romam ad altiora studia.
1619. Jul. Thomas *Camerarius* [Chambers], Scotus Abridonensis, annorum 15 conversus. Anno 1625 clam profugit in longa veste cum fratre milite Calvinista. Postea, Romæ absoluta theologia. sacerdos in Scotiam missus.
1641. Aug. Alexander *Minnesius* [Menzies?], Scotus, annorum 15. Residet ad ecclesiam Novæ Civitatis Brunsb. a. 1651. Ibidem sancte obiit in obsequio peste infectorum.
1641. Aug. Guilhelmus *Minnesius*, Scotus, annorum 12. Fugit.
1642. Aug. Alexander *Hajus* [Hay], Scotus, annorum 14. Rediit in patriam propter infirmam valetudinem 1643.
1642. Aug. Joannes *Hajus*, Scotus, annorum 18. Fugit.

VII. (p. 353).

Letter from Innocenzo del Bufalo,[1] Nuncio at Paris, to the Cardinal-Secretary, Aldobrandini, respecting the religious state of Scotland.

(*Cod. Borghes.* III. lxv., p. 156.)

Illustrissimo et R^mo^ Sig^r^ Padrone Col^mo^ È così noto a Vossignoria Ill^ma^ lo stato delle cose del Regno di *Scotia* in materia della Religione, che non accade ch' io mi affatichi a persuaderle il beneficio che si puo ricevere con l'accarezzar et favorir quei soggetti che sono propugnacoli in quel Regno della fede Cattolica et però dirò solo, che questa mia le sarà presentata dal

[1] Innocenzo del Bufalo was born in Rome, became bishop of Camerino in 1601, and nuncio at Paris 1602-1604. On June 9, 1604, he was created cardinal, and died at Rome in 1609. See Cardella, *op. cit.*, tom. vii. p. 104.

Baron *Gordonio* et Alessandro *Scot* Scozzese, i quali se ne vengono a Roma per baciar i piedi a Nostro Signore et ricever quelle consolationi spirituali . . . havendone quà informationi da persona degna di fede, della buona conditione loro, ho volentieri preso ardire di raccomandarli alla molta bontà et pietà di VS. Ill^ma^ acciochè favorendoli, come humilissimamente la supplico si possa sperare che col ritorno loro, possino far frutto negli animi degli altri devoti di cotesta Santa Sede. Quest' officio nasce in me dal molto zelo che ritengo dell' augumento della religione Cattolica, et dall' occasione che mi porge questa mia carica; che ch' sia il suddetto Barone, et cosi anco esso Alessandro Scot, VS. Ill^ma^ lo potra vedere nella qui allegata scrittura, et io per fine la faccio humilmente riverenza.

Di Parigi à 24 d'Agosto, 1602. Di VS. Ill^ma^ Revirendis^ma^.
Humiliss^o^ et oblig^mo^ servitore. INNOCENZO,
Vescovo di Camerino.

De JOANNE GORDONIO BARONE DE NIENTON (Montrose?) in Scotia.

Hic est ex illustri Gordoniorum familia ex inter primos cognatos ipsius Marchionis de Huntley. Iam 40 annis cum ministris luctatus est et illis quantumvis invitis sacerdotes omnes in boreali Scotiæ parte profugos hospitatus est. Ministrorum tamen opera passus est multa mala. Nam domum habebat satis splendidam solo æquatam, uxorem cum decem liberis ejectam, et in illo prædio quod dictus Marchio contra hæreticos fixit (?), periculosissime vulneratus est. Tandum ut vota persolveret iam Scotiam egreditur, Romam et Lauretum salutaturus. Si fuerit humaniter receptus et domum secundum meritorum dignitatem remissus, pristino zelo stimuli majores, atque alii catholici hoc exemplo alacriores reddentur. Ille vobis (si placet) optime referre potest, quo consilio, quique negotiatores minoribus impensis et opera messem catholicæ rei jam semimaturam metere possunt, ne ut antea inutiliter et oleum et operam perdatis. Breviter qui hic sumus Catholici

Scoti probe intelligimus, testamurque, illum solum plus posse pro fide catholica in Scotia prodesse, quam omnes nostrates, qui Romæ sunt.

Parisiis Ultimo Augusti 1602.

De Alexandro Scot, Scoto Generoso.

Hic natus est ex equestri et nobili familia de Balwery[1] in Scotia. Avunculum habebat Venerabilem Edmundum Hayium Jesuitam optimæ memoriæ,[2] qui eum a juventute in fide catholica instruxit adeoque fervëntem reddidit ut presbyteros omnes prope suam domum metu ministrorum labentes contempto omni periculo tutissimos custodiret. Tandem ministri hæc intelligentes, jusserunt subscribere et jurare (ut moris est) articulis fidei Calvinianæ, qui in Scotia tenentur. Quod cum ille constanter recusaret, proscriptus est et bona confiscata. Fiscum autem emit Minister ejusdem parochiæ dictus magister Joannes Pitharus, qui se bonis omnibus dicti Alexandri ditaverat. Accidit deinde circiter finem decembris præteriti, quod idem Alexander cum filio primogenito juniore et viginti annorum in campis equitans obviam iret dicto ministro comitato suo cognato patruele et servo satis protervo: convenientes post verba quædam satis acerba utrimque data pugnatum est, donec minister cum cognato exanimes cecidderunt, quo viso prædictus famulus fugit et filius dicti Alexandri periculosissime et in coxa et in capite vulneratus. Pater tamen illum eadem nocte ad locum tutum perduxit, ipse postea diligentia summa in habitu dissimulato per Angliam huc in Gallium venit omnia auxilio humano destitutus Sanctissimusque Dominus Noster illius misereatur. Ultima Augusti 1602. Parisiis.

[1] In Fife.

[2] See Gordon, *Scotichron.*, vol. iv. p. 564. "Vir valde religiosus, prudens atque eruditus." Father Hay died at Rome, November 4, 1581.

VIII. (p. 355).

REPORT OF THE PAPAL AGENT AT BRUSSELS, MGR MALVASIA, TO THE CARDINAL-SECRETARY ALDOBRANDINI, REGARDING THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.[1] — Rome, 1596.

(*Cod. Vatican. Urbin.* 855, *fol.* 517.)

Discorso circa il modo che si potria tenere per ritornare nel Regno di Scotia la Religione Catholica.[2]

The narrative of Scottish affairs, which your lordship has commanded me to transmit to you by the gentleman lately arrived from Scotland, would naturally divide itself into two parts: the first relating to the execution and result of the order which I received from you in Flanders, to pay 10,000

[1] Gordon (*op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 91) styles Mgr Malvasia "the nuncio at Brussels," on the authority of a Preshome MS. As a matter of fact, he was never nuncio there, but merely the agent of the Pope, as appears from a contemporary document already quoted (Appendix IV.) According to the *Journal Historique* (tom. ii. p. 19 : Liége, 1835), the Netherlands were at first included in the nunciature of Vienna, and were afterwards, from 1583 to 1595, under Bonomo and Frangipani, successively nuncios at Cologne. On Archduke Albert of Austria, husband of the Infanta Isabella, assuming the government of the Netherlands, overtures were made for the erection of a nunciature at Brussels. "Elle [Isabelle] obtint du Pape Clément VIII. qu'un nonce résidât dans sa capitale. . . . Frangipani fut le premier nonce belge." This was probably not before 1599. Frangipani would seem to have been recalled to Rome from Cologne in 1595, and Malvasia remained in Brussels as papal agent for several years subsequently. See Vandevelde, *Synopsis Monumentorum* (Ghent, 1821), tom. ii. Index chronolog. Archiepiscoporum.

[2] There is a copy of this document in the Barberini collection (lviii. 41, p. 307), with the superscription, "Ricordi di M.M. del 159[6] a Sua Beatitudine, per migliorare le cose de Cattolici nel Regno di Scotia." Another copy, in the Valicellana Library, No. 23, bears the title : "Relatione delle cose di Scotia fatta al Signor Cardinal Aldobrandini." Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini was a nephew of Clement VIII. See Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. vi. p. 11. Novaes, *Elementi*, tom. ix. p. 18. It has been thought best to give this important and interesting document in an English translation, rather than in the original Italian, in which many of the proper names are so misspelt as to be all but unrecognisable.—TRANSLATOR.

scudi to Father Gordon, who by command of our Lord the Pope was journeying to those parts in the cause of religion;[1] and the second regarding the method which might be employed, and the hopes which might be entertained, for the recovery of that kingdom to the faith. But having already fully satisfied you as to the first point both by the letters which I wrote to you, and also here, by word of mouth, I will pass to the second without further delay.

In order to induce the King of Scotland to profess himself a Catholic, or at least to ameliorate the condition of Catholics in that kingdom, any policy would be better than that of resorting to force or to arms. For this would simply compel him, in his own defence, to unite himself with his heretical subjects, and, by way of recommending his cause to the Queen of England, to commence a fresh persecution of the Catholics within and without his kingdom—which would be, of course, exactly contrary to our wishes and intentions.

Moreover, if his Holiness proposed a resort to arms, his forces are neither sufficiently numerous, nor properly equipped, nor near enough to the scene of action, to be able to cope with so difficult an enterprise; nor would he in all probability be able to provide the money which would be required for the expedition. And if we rely on the assistance and confederation of Spain, the help forthcoming from that State, no matter how powerful, would be equally tardy and dangerous. For it would instantly rouse a far greater number of heretics in defence of the King of Scotland, and unite in his favour the barons of that kingdom—not only such as are confirmed heretics, but also the indifferent, and those who at the first breath of prosperity to our cause in Scotland might be expected to declare themselves Catholics; and it would likewise oblige the Queen of England, the King of Denmark, and the States of Holland, to take action on the side of the king. And such is the force of jealousy in their own interests, and fear of the aggrandisement of their neighbours, that I know

[1] See Appendix IV.

not whether the King of France and other princes more remote, even though good Catholics, would be content to stand idly by at such a time.

Nor would it avail to place reliance even on the Scottish Catholics themselves; for the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Crawford, Morton, Cassilis, Sutherland, and Caithness, and Lords Hume, Seton, Sanquhar, Herries, Livingstone, Sempill, and Gray, although they are really Catholics, yet assist at the sermons and religious exercises of the heretics, whence they may be reckoned as what are commonly called tepid Catholics; and in short, not only will they never take up arms against the king, but they will always remain at his absolute command.

There remain the Earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntly, who are Catholics in reality as well as in name; but of these the first, although the most illustrious of all the Scottish nobles, is at present in such disgrace with the king for having given shelter to the Earl of Bothwell, that, exiled and deprived of his property and everything else, he is living in a state of extreme misery, from which there seems little hope that he will ever recover. The two others, although one is Hereditary Constable of the kingdom, and the other a cousin of the king, are also at present in exile; but supposing that they are restored to favour, as no doubt they will be, yet being only two, they can do but little service in an affair of this sort.

The easiest way, therefore, to attain our end will be by conciliation, and conducting matters with judgment and tact. And herein we shall be greatly assisted by the good dispositions of the king towards the Catholics, which is manifest by many signs. For when he might formerly, by simply giving his assent, have extirpated them entirely out of his realm, he refused to do so; and now he not only continues to tolerate them (which he does not do in the case of other heretical sects), but he listens to them willingly when they speak of religious matters. Nor has he ever permitted the penal laws to be rigorously enforced against them. The Bishop of Dun-

blane, Colonel Sempill, the Jesuit fathers Holt and Morton, and other Catholics who from time to time have been imprisoned, have not subsequently been molested in any way. He has given a further proof of confidence in the fact that the offices of president, of major-domo, of captain of the guard, and others in the Court and the State, have been intrusted to Catholics, although tepid ones, as already mentioned; and that the Queen (who is a Lutheran, and far removed from Calvinism) is permitted to act similarly with regard to the ladies and gentlemen of her household.

The Duke of Lennox, again, was declared by the king the next heir to the crown, and his commander-in-chief, although the heretic Hamilton had a better right to it. And the Earl of Huntly, while residing in the royal palace, was always permitted to have mass said in his chamber, although with closed doors, any one he pleased being allowed to assist, chief among them being the Duke of Lennox, the brother of his wife, herself a fervent Catholic. This lady, moreover, as well as the Countess of Errol, notwithstanding the banishment of the Earls and the strenuous opposition of the preachers, have been permitted to enjoy the income of their husbands' estates. And to the Earls themselves, in spite of their contumacity, the king has shown, and still shows, much kindness, and has expressed his intention of shortly recalling them to Scotland, and forbidding the preachers to harass them further.

To these same preachers the king bears a very ill will, which, however, for political reasons, he is obliged to dissimulate, not only on account of the favour in which they are held by the people, but also on account of the encouragement which they receive from the Queen of England. The protection, indeed, of that princess renders them so proud and insolent, sprung as they are from the lowest class, that they tyrannise over the king himself, who is powerless to resent their conduct, having continually at his side an ambassador from the queen, and being surrounded by persons who are

retained in her pay, in order to discover any designs and prevent any action contrary to her interests.

But apart from these considerations, reasons of State would seem to point out that the best policy for the King of Scots would be to adhere to the Catholic party. It is clear that being, as he is by common consent, the most legitimate aspirant and the nearest in succession to the English crown, it is his duty to strengthen his position, so that at the decease of the queen he may be in no danger, through weakness on his part, of losing the opportunity presented to him. But he will not be able to obtain the support which he requires from his Protestant subjects, unwarlike and unarmed people, and moreover so opposed in religion to the English that the latter would prefer to submit even to the Catholics themselves. On the other hand, he will not be able to place much reliance on foreigners like the Dutch and Danes, on account of their diversity of sects; and still less on the King of France, who, now that he has turned Catholic, naturally would not support the cause of heretics, unless it were to oppose Spain for political reasons.

The real power on which the king could depend thus resolves into the nobles of his own kingdom, of whom the larger and the better part are either open Catholics or inclined towards the Catholic side. All alike are filled with dislike and ill-will towards the preachers—insomuch that if the latter were deprived, by the death of the Queen of England, of the favour which they now enjoy from her, and if the king resolved to eject them and profess himself a Catholic, all the principal barons would side with him, together with their vassals, who, whatever their own religion, are, according to the custom of the country, entirely subject and faithful to their feudal lords. It may be added that in this event he would have the support and assistance of the English Catholics, who are both numerous and fervent.

The king could in truth hardly be otherwise than ill-disposed towards the heretics of England, considering that

to the ministers there was really due the imprisonment of his mother, against the pledged word of the English queen, and ultimately the death which she suffered with unshaken constancy to her religion. And these ministers became every day more bitter against him, fearing as they do the just punishment which he might rightly inflict upon them in consequence.

Finally, he is firmly convinced (according to what is said by persons who have spoken to himself on the subject) that the King of Spain desires nothing more than to invalidate his (the King of Scotland's) rights to the English crown, and to aspire to it for himself and for his daughter the Infanta. He declares that he knows of many and various artifices used for this end by the Catholic king: among others, that the latter sent to Rome Hugh Owen, an Englishman, in order, with the help of Cardinal Allen, to induce Pope Sixtus to pronounce the King of Scots excommunicated; hoping thus not only to render him incapable of succeeding to the throne of England, but even of continuing to occupy his own; and the kingdom of Scotland being then granted by the Holy See to any one who chose to take it, the King of Spain would try to possess himself of some Scottish port, and thence to penetrate into England, which he knew he could never enter in any other way.[1] The King of Scots is said to be so greatly afraid of such an excommunication and its consequences, that he is likely always to pay great deference to the opinion of the supreme Pontiff.

Now, among the many means which might be employed to win him over, the following appear to me by no means the least likely to prove successful. First of all, there are the two Earls of Huntly and Errol, who, it may be taken for granted, are to be recalled to the Court, and of whom the first, by reason of the affection which the king bears him,

[1] See with reference to this strange project, the letter from Olivarez to Philip II., dated February 24, 1586, and printed in the *Letter-books of Cardinal Allen*, p. 253.

will undoubtedly regain his former authority and influence. Then the Duke of Lennox is greatly loved and esteemed by his majesty; a man of great wit and not less learning and experience, and believed to be at heart an excellent Catholic, although he now affects indifference. But the honours which he gained in letters at Rome, and in his doctor's degree at Bologna, together with his recollections of the generosity of Gregory XIII. (who gave him, when a student, a provision of ten scudi per month), and of his former life in Italy, have sown deep in him the seeds of religion, which he has now the greatest wish to see take root and flourish in Scotland; and he only awaits the opportunity of carrying out his desires.

With the help of these nobles it might be possible to obtain for the kingdom toleration of Catholics and liberty of conscience, together with permission for Catholic worship, at least in private. So much it would perhaps not be difficult to procure, especially if an offer were made to the king of some pecuniary assistance, say ten or twelve thousand scudi annually, or some other notably advantageous service or guarantee of support.

The Earl of Huntly has likewise declared to me that he knows from the king's own lips that his majesty would very gladly profit by any pretext, such as threats from any quarter, which would enable him under the plea of hope or fear to permit an increase among his Catholic subjects, so as to counterbalance the number and influence of the heretics, and by this means to check the insolence of the ministers: apart from which motive he would gladly encourage such an increase by reason of his favourable disposition towards our religion. This once obtained, it would be necessary to use continual vigilance, and the co-operation both of the good fathers and of other fit persons, in order constantly to augment the number of Catholics, and by degrees to ameliorate their condition. At present, such is the tepidity manifested in this respect, that in the whole of Scotland there are not to be found more than four or five priests.

As to the Scotch College, originally founded in Lorraine, and now after many wanderings established at Louvain, a supply of clergy cannot be expected from thence, as, owing to its poverty, it is unable to support more than six or eight students. A considerable provision was made for it by the liberality of Pope Gregory XIII., but this failed under his successor; and if (besides some help from the Catholic king) it had not been for the great charity of Father Creighton, to whom indeed the whole credit is due, the college would not have been able to maintain even the standard which it has now reached.[1] It would therefore be a most excellent work to provide for it some source of income; and this could conveniently be arranged by securing in its favour charges on some of the rich abbeys of that country,[2] either by the voluntary consent of the abbots, which might be obtained by a little conciliation, or else when the abbacies fall vacant, and before the confirmation of the new grantees. The English Colleges also, both in Rome and at Douay, might be inclined to send many subjects to Scotland, seeing that there they would be free to travel and exercise their ministry, without that risk of torture and an atrocious death which they would incur in England, where, moreover, there is at present less urgent need of them.

But in matters of this nature there could be no better instrument found than Father Gordon, inasmuch as he is loved and esteemed by the good as a man of great learning and most exemplary life, and is no less respected by people of a different kind, as being uncle to the Earl of Huntly—a nobleman who is well known to be resolute and hot-tempered, and who, his estates being situated far from the Court, and difficult of access, is enabled to rule his numerous retainers with great security and authority. This relationship gives to the

[1] Dancoisne, *Hist. des Établ. Relig. Britann.*, p. 82. "Des jésuites, et surtout le P. Parson et le P. Creitton, attirèrent sur le collége l'attention des personnes charitables."

[2] *I.e.*, Scotland. By "abbots" are of course meant the lay impropriators of the abbacies.—TRANSLATOR.

Father access to, and reputation with, all the barons of the kingdom; although perhaps it is not of much service to him in negotiating temporal matters or affairs of State, for in these matters his natural simplicity of character renders him extremely outspoken—a quality which he doubtless finds useful in spiritual matters, both in the work of confirming some in zeal and piety, and winning over others from time to time.

Among others, he might be able with great advantage to gain over the Earl of Mar, who is related to his nephew, and is hereditary custodian of Stirling Castle, where all the Scottish princes are brought up. He has been accordingly intrusted with the care of the present king; and the latter might with ease be won over in a short time by the example and teaching of his guardian, whose wife is exceedingly well disposed towards our religion, he himself showing little partiality one way or the other.

As for the king, although educated in Calvinism from his childhood, he has never shown himself a very fervent adherent of that sect, but, on the contrary, disagrees with many of its articles; for being fond of letters, and particularly versed in theological learning, he is quite capable of reasoning for himself, and of judging where the truth really lies. Wherefore, if any person holding sound opinions, and possessed of the needful learning, were afforded the power and opportunity to treat with him, we might, with God's grace, hope for great fruit therefrom in no long time.

Regarding this matter, it will not be out of place to mention a suggestion made by the Earl of Huntly, that some person possessing the aforesaid qualities should be sent expressly to Scotland, in order to negotiate for obtaining the tolerance and liberty of conscience desired; with instructions, if these be not granted, to threaten the king with the excommunication already mentioned: the effect of which will be that, both in his own interests and for the satisfaction of our lord the Pope, he will gladly make some concessions to the Catholics. The envoy should further be commissioned to

treat with the king as to the question of his conversion; and in this he will be helped by the above-named lords, and, in particular, by the Earl of Huntly, who assured me that out of the respect which he bears to his Holiness, he would promise on his own head to such a messenger not only inviolable safety, but the warmest welcome and all honour.

The same result, however, would probably be attained with greater certainty and security, if the person in question were to appear as the envoy of the Duke of Lorraine (who is related to the king, and visits him from time to time), to pay his majesty compliments of various kinds, and then under cover of some ostensible mission proceed to discuss the real question. The matter would thus be treated more guardedly, and more satisfactorily to the king himself, than if it were done through the Jesuits, in whom he has little confidence, looking on them with suspicion as dependants of the King of Spain.

Touching these Jesuits, it would be an excellent thing if, both in Scotland and also in England, they would abstain from interfering in State matters and the affairs of princes, but would attend solely to gaining souls and the advancement of religion. Applying themselves thus to one thing only, they would perhaps labour with greater fruit, and would dispel the suspicion which prevails in those countries, that under the veil of piety and devotion they are concealing various worldly ideas: they would find themselves held in greater esteem, and receive the veneration which is their due.

And in connection with this, it is impossible to ignore that there exists in England, between the Jesuits and the *alumni* of the colleges abroad, an antagonism very dangerous to the interests of that kingdom, and of Scotland also.[1] For the Jesuits hold it as an axiom established among them, and confirmed by the authority of Father Parsons, that only by force of arms can the Catholic religion be restored to its former

[1] Regarding the disagreement here spoken of, see Foley, *Diary and Pilgrim-book of the English College, Rome*, 1880.

state, inasmuch as the property and revenues of the Church, divided as they are among heretics, and having already passed through many hands, can be recovered by no other means. And, to bring about this result, they believe that the only arms available are those of Spain; and, whether coming from Rome or elsewhere, they enter those countries with this idea firmly impressed upon them by their superiors.[1]

The *alumni*, on the other hand, are naturally attached to their country, opposed to the idea of a revolution, and the evils consequent on the introduction of foreign sovereigns and the laws of Spain, well disposed towards the king of Scots, as having a better right to the English succession than either Isabella or any other pretender to that throne, and desirous of a union between the two countries. Such an event would tend to diminish their expenses and mutual jealousies: they would enjoy a very happy life under one sovereign, and would edify in various ways all their friends and relatives, and inspire them with a proper love for the glory and good of their country.

Hence arises a discord far from edifying, and which may have even worse consequences. Perhaps the only means of putting an end to these dangerous complications would be to appoint, if it were thought well, a Jesuit superior in England —a person of solid character and upright intentions, immediately dependent on his Holiness. He might fix his residence on the borders of Scotland, where there would be little danger to be apprehended; and such a measure would prove, it is certain, of very great advantage.

The *alumni* above mentioned have another cause of dis-

[1] The belief that there was still some ground for hoping for the corporate reunion of England and Scotland with the Catholic Church was, of course, not peculiar to the Society of Jesus. Cardinal Allen, among others, lived and died, as his letters clearly show, in the unshaken expectation of seeing the realm once more Catholic. It was not until half a century later that the steady pressure of the penal laws succeeded in crushing out the last hopes of such a consummation.—See Knox, *Records of the English Catholics*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

satisfaction in the omission of their Cardinal-Protector, since Cardinal Allen's death, to transmit to them the requisite faculties, although he does so for the Jesuits. They would desire that their rector should have authority to give these faculties to the missionaries departing for England, an arrangement which could not fail to be productive of the best results.

And as from Scotland we have come to speak of England, and as the circumstances of the two kingdoms are so closely connected, I will permit myself, on account of my great desire for the welfare of the Catholics of those parts, and my equally great devotion towards his Holiness and my duty of humble service, to put before your lordship a consideration which might have the result, if not of winning over the queen herself, at least of causing such religious advance in that country that not only the number of Catholics would increase, but many even of the heretics would be recovered to the true faith.

This is, that by the efficacious help of the King of France, the Queen of England should be persuaded to desist from the present stubborn persecution of Catholics, and following the example of so many other potentates who tolerate divers sects within their dominions, to permit them to reside in her realm and enjoy liberty of conscience, with leave to live as Catholics within their houses, provided they make no public exercise of their religion. I will only touch here upon a few of the many good reasons which might be adduced, in order to induce her to consent to this course.

In the chief place, many of her disaffected Catholic subjects, who are living now in Flanders or elsewhere, in such evil case that they would adopt any course, however desperate, in the straits to which they are reduced by the non-payment of their promised pensions from the Spanish Government, if they were able to return in safety to their country, with a general indemnity for the past, would, there is no doubt, fly thither with the greatest goodwill, and, being

thus conciliated, would remain during the rest of their lives most indebted and most faithful to her majesty. In this way the Catholic king would find himself deprived of so many means of penetrating all the queen's secrets, the times, the methods, and the places most suitable for attacking her. And she would see herself freed from a thousand dangers and from continual suspicions of conspiracies and treachery, and, moreover, from the enormous expenses which she is compelled to incur, in order to make her realm secure against the overweening ambition of the King of Spain, as she very well knows, and has experienced more than once.

Safely guarded as she would thus be from within, she would be well able to defend herself against remote and tardily operating foes without, being possessed of a strong force and good armaments, all in a state of due readiness. And she would always be able to look for the support of other princes, which would not be wanting to her, on account of their own jealousy of the inordinate power of Spain, and more especially when her clemency towards the Catholics had made them free to assist her.

I ought not to omit to point out the feasibility, if such a step were thought likely to bring the queen to our wishes, of removing the Jesuits, at least for a time, from the kingdom, as being obnoxious and objects of great suspicion to her majesty. And in order still more perfectly to assure her safety at the hands of her returning rebellious subjects, severe penalties, as well as the papal excommunication, might be declared incurred by any of them who should dare to plot against the Crown, or to mix themselves up with matters pertaining to the State and the Commonwealth.

If this course be adopted, besides the daily gain of souls, and the multiplication and increase of Catholics in that realm, the succession of the King of Scots at the queen's decease will be greatly facilitated; and he by that time will perhaps either be, by the divine favour, a professed Catholic, or will at least be obliged by the above considerations to

trust far more to Catholics than to the heretics. And finally, there may one day come about so happy a state of things as could never be hoped for by the help of arms or any other violent means. Which may it please the Lord God soon to bring to pass, for the glory and exaltation of His most holy faith.

I kiss your lordship's hand with all reverence.

Rome, the 15th of.....

Your Lordship's.....

IX. (p. 394).

Letter from Pope Clement VIII. to Queen Anne of Denmark, Jan. 28, 1605.

(*Cod. Borghes.*, iv. 5, p. 124.)

Annæ, Angliæ et Scotiæ Reginæ Clemens P. P. VIII.

Carissima in Christo filia nostra, salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem. Optatissimas literas, expectatissimos nuntios accepimus de tuæ Majestatis erga nos filiali amore, de tua in sanctam hanc sedem eximia observantia, quæ duæ res tanto nos affecerunt gaudio spiritali, ut iam cum apostolo divinam bonitatem admirantes clamemus: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ, et scientiæ Dei, quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia eius, et investigabiles viæ ejus. Qui novit Deum, audit nos; qui non est ex Deo, non audit nos; in hoc cognoscimus spiritum veritatis, et spiritum erroris. Tu filia Nobis iam in Christo carissima cum pastoris tui vocem audiveris, in tutissima collocata es Natione, in qua quamdiu perstiteris, nihil est tibi pertimescendum mali, nihil non sperandum boni. Inter præclarissimas fœminas, quarum laus divinis in literis summopere celebratur, Tuam quoque Majestatem paulo post numerari posse speramus, quando illæ quidem ob egregia apud suos populos posita beneficia merito sunt immor-

talitate donatæ. Atque quæ Tu præstitisti, quæ polliceris eiusmodi certe sunt, ut magnam Nobis spem ostendant catholicæ religionis tuo in Regno restituendæ, cuius cum Tu jeceris fundamenta firmissima, non dubitamus favente Deo, quin inchoato iam operi fastigium sis impositura, quod pertingat ad cœlum. Filium tuum Henricum Federicum, quem nos in posterum nostrum volumus esse filium in Christo carissimum, quod nobis educat Tua Majestas pie sancteque, pertentasti paternæ charitatis nostræ viscera omnia præ gaudio. Magnum illum in principem evasurum confidimus, et Sanctæ huic sedi et toti christiano Orbi futurum maxime necessarium, tuumque nomen posteritati propagaturum, quod ex te natus, quod altus sit sancte tua cura, ad communem bonorum omnium consolationem. Quæ tibi evenerint ante tuum ex Scotia discessum, quæ post tuum in Angliam adventum, plane cognovimus ex dilecto filio Jacobo Lyndesco, quem et paterno affectu sumus complexi, et quæ is nostro nomine tuæ exponat Majestati, cumulate mandavimus. Pro viribus elaborabimus omni tempore, ut impedimenta amoveantur omnia, quæ tuorum populorum saluti videntur obstare, nostræque si quid valebunt preces apud Deum, nunquam intermittemus orare Dominum, ut vobiscum faciat misericordiam. Tu Rege marito tuo, cum poteris commode, memineris instillare quæ sunt tibi a Deo salutaria monstrata consilia, ut summa cum sit terrenis in rebus animorum vestrorum coniunctio, ad cœlestia quoque concordi voluntate aspiretis, et gaudium vestrum sit plenum, et societas vestra cum patre, et cum filio eius Jesu Christo summa. Quod nunc cupimus unum illud est reliquum, Tuam Majestatem plane persuasum habere. Nos de tua, de Regis, de filiorum tuorum salute æque, ac nostra esse sollicitos, idque votis exposcere omnibus, ut Deus omnis gratiæ, qui vocavit te in æternam suam gloriam in Christo Jesu, perficiat, confirmet, solidetque, quod cœpit in te operari opus bonum ad laudem sui nominis, ad tuam et tuorum utilitatem, ad totius ecclesiæ sanctæ exaltationem. Tibi, filia Nobis in Christo carissima, paternam

charitatem peculiari studio assidue præstabimus, et quo Tu fructus pietatis tuæ metas uberiores, Tuæ Majestati Apostolica nostra benedicimus auctoritate. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxviii Januarii MDCV, pontificatus nostri anno decimo tertio.

Carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Annæ, Angliæ et Scotiæ Reginæ Illustri.

X. (p. 404).

Report on the State of Religion in Scotland, sent by Mgr Ottavio Mancini, Bishop of Carpentras, to the Cardinal-Secretary Borghese, April 29, 1609.

(*Cod. Borghes.*, iii. 47, *c. p.* 260.)

Ill^mo^ et Rev^mo^ Signor mio Padrone colendissimo!

In caso che Mgr Nuntio di Parigi non havesse mandato a Ill^ma^ gli accusi avvisi, ho pensato che per essere di momento non le sarà forse discaro di vidergli. Poichè sono assai freschi e venuti a questo Dottore Scozzese si gran litterato che stà in questa Città, ho pigliato ardire di mandarli a V. S. Ill^ma^ e le bacio humilmente le mani, restando di V. S. Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ umiliss. et obbed. servo

Il Vescovo di Carpentras.

29 *Aprile*, 1609.

Avvisi del stato delli Cattolici nel Regno di Scotia, per la Relatione del Barone de Craig Scozzese, gionto a Parigi il primo d'Aprile 1609:—

Le cose de' Cattolici vanno ogni di mal in peggio.

Si deve far il Parlamento, o Comitia del Regno, a di 14 Aprile 1609.

Gli Articoli i quali si dovevano confirmare per il Parlamento furono conchiusi nell' ultima conventione de' Signori del Regno et Consiglio, et sono li seguenti:—

Che gli Cattolici partiranno fuori del Regno, et haveranno una portione de' loro beni per nutrirsi fuori.

Che loro figliuoli saranno nutriti in Inghilterra nella religione riformata heretica. Questa sarà conditione degli antecedenti articoli.

Che il Marchese di Huntly et Conte d'Errol, et altri che stanno in prigione, resteranno in prigione fin tanto che habbiano soddisfatto alli Ministri, cioè professar le loro heresie.

Se sia trovato alcuno Cattolico che è fuori del Regno alla Messa, sarà causa giusta di privatione sua et heredi suoi di tutti i loro beni, et applicargli alla Corona.

Tutti quelli li quali saranno scomunicati per ostinacità nel papismo incorreranno le medesime pene di privatione perpetua di tutti lor beni.

Nessuno partira del Regno senza licenza del Rè, et senza dar cautione di non farsi Cattolico.

Il Presidente del Senato di Scotia, accusato d'haver scritto al Papa senza licenza del Re, sta ancora in prigione, con pericolo d'esser messo a morte, perchè è ricco et ha nemici potenti in corte.

In questo Parlamento il Lord Conte de Maxuell deve essere privato de' suoi honori, e suoi beni applicati alla Corona.

XI. (p. 410).

Permission from Paul V. to Father Forbes, Capuchin, to go to Scotland.

(*Cod. Borghes.*, iii. 124, p. 114.)

Pro Regno Scotiæ.

Beatissime Pater.

Quæ parvo labore et minoribus sumptibus perfecta conferre possunt non parum ad rem Scoticam hoc tempestate juvandam, de multis aliis hæc sunt.

Primo. Pro firmiter uniendo Forbesiorum familia cum Gente Gordoniorum, quorum caput est Comes Huntleus, et

idem inter Catholicos Principes in Scotia primus et potentissimus, mandato Suæ Sanctitatis ab Ordine Capuccinorum evocandus adolescens Forbesius familiæ hæres et remittendus in patriam, quia sacros nondum ordines iniit.

Secundo. Nobilis Dominus de Hume, Regis custodiæ præfectus, et re aliqua præsente, et maiori in posterum spe animandus est ad Regem in partes Catholicorum transferendum, et ob eam causam generosus vir Thomas Tyrius prima apud præfatum Dominum gratia, et auctoritate quantocius in patria est remittendus.

Res tota in utroque capite committi potest Nuncio Aplicõ degenti Bruxellis, qui, pro oblato dehinc occasione, gerenda omnia disponat.

Rescriptum: Quanto al primo, Sua Santità si contentò, che questo giovine possa andare in Scotia etiam senza habitu Capuccinorum per ajutare la religione, durante la persecutione, ma non s'intende che sia libero ne de la religione, ne che si possa maritare.

Quanto al secondo, si contenta anchora che vada questo gentilhomo Thomas Tyrius a far il officio predetto li Hume, et animarlo di parte di Sua Santità, et che se li dia qualche presentaccio, segno di amorevolezza per il Barone Hume.

C. Toledo.[1]

XII. (p. 420).

Letter from Paul V. to King James I., July 11, 1606.

(*Cod. Borghes.*, iv. 5, p. 156.)

Jacobo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi Paulus P. P. V.

Serenissime Magnæ Britanniæ Rex salutem et lumen divinæ gratiæ. Quo tempore Majestas tua ad Regnum Anglicanum evecta fuit, nos pro laudabili instituto S. R. E., cui salus om-

[1] For details of the life of the learned Cardinal Francesco Toledo, S.J., see Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. vi. pp. 4-6.

nium populorum tamquam matri charissimæ cordi est, officio Protectoris Catholicorum apud Apostolicam sedem fungebamur: tunc enim Cardinalem gerebamus. Propterea de tanta tua felicitate valde gavisi fuimus, non muneris nostri ratione, et propensione quadam in te non vulgari, cuncta tibi, ac Regno tuo prospera et secunda cum accessione divinæ gratiæ semper desideravimus. Potissimum vero quia sperabamus fore, ut si aliquando potireris Angliæ Regno, res filiorum nostrorum Catholicorum istic melius sese haberent. Persuadebat nobis hoc in primis celebris, constansque fama singularis prudentiæ, atque animi moderationis, quam adhibes in regendis populis imperio tuo subiectis: præterea non ignorabamus officia mutuæ benevolentiæ, quæ inter fel. rec. Clementem VIII., prædecessorem nostrum, et te intercesserat. Postremo in Dei misericordia confisi existimabamus, non sine magno divinæ providentiæ mysterio factum esse, ut Elisabethæ Anglicanæ Jacobus filius Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ Illustris pietate, virtute, atque fortitudine celeberrimæ in Regno succederet. Hac igitur mente cum nos postea nullis certe nostris meritis, sed divina tantum miseratione ad summum Apostolatus ministerium vocati fuerimus, cogitabamus nostris literis Maiestatem tuam salutare, et assumptionem nostram ad summum Pontificatum, et peculiarem benevolentiam erga te, atque desiderium, quo tenemur veræ et absolutæ felicitatis tuæ tibi significare, ut intelligeres, quod quemadmodum summum Pontificatum, pariter ac Clemens VIII. felic. rec. gerimus, ita ejusdem in te voluntatis sumus.

Sed remoravit nostrum consilium scribendi ad te nuncius molestissimus conjurationis, quæ nuper inita fuit adversus Majestatis tuæ salutem, præsertim qui cum summa animi amaritudine audiebamus, nonnullos ex Catholicis Anglicanis delatos fuisse ad te tanquam participes hujus perditi consilii. Verum posteaquam Dei beneficio ex tam gravi periculo evasisti, et nos intelleximus, quendam ex filiis nostris Catholicis hanc tibi proditionem indicasse, occasionem nedum opportunam, sed necessariam rati, constituimus has ad te dare literas.

Primum ut gratularemur tibi hanc misericordiam, quam nuper tecum fecit Dominus, eripiens te mirabiliter de manibus inimicorum tuorum: et ut significatione nostræ hujus lætitiæ magis probaremus tibi, quantopere nobis cordi sit vera felicitas, atque salus Majestatis tuæ, ex quo intelligas nostram erga te charitatem synceram, et vehementem esse. Tum, ut te deprecaremur, ne dilectis filiis nostris innocentibus Catholicis Regni tui aliena flagitia noceant. Ad quam rem impellit nos timor gravis, quem zelus paternus nobis injicit. Nam quantum ad te attinet, ea sane de animi tui præstantissimi æquitate accepimus, ut nullo pacto vereri debeamus quidquam à te in hac causa (fieri), quod justitiæ adversetur. Neque aliud, nec aliter nos quoque postularemus, qui gravissime ferimus omnia, quæ impedimento esse possunt exercendæ inter nos mutuæ benevolentiæ. Cum enim à Dei Patre misericordiarum assiduis precibus petamus, ut te, filium desideratissimum, velit aliquando reducere in gratiam cum matre tua amantissima Sancta Romana Ecclesia, quæ pansis, latisque brachiis te revertentem excipere parata est: rationi quoque consentaneum videtur, ut ea sedulo curemus, quibus animum tuum ad hunc amorem efficacius alliciamus.

Probe meminimus, Britanniæ Regnum fidem catholicam suscepisse, et inter septa ovilis D. N. Jesu Christi se recepisse non armorum vi coactum, non machinationibus, dolisque inimicorum circumventum, sed cum primum expertum fuit charitatem Romani Pontificis Sancti Gregorii Magni prædecessoris nostri, Anglis videlicet, qui in captivitate in Gallia detinebantur, sacra pecunia redemptis ab eodem Sanctissimo Pontifice, et fidei veritate instructis. Eodem pacto præclara quoque charitatis officia multo antea præstitit Scotis tuis Sanctus Victorius Papa fortissimus,[1] Christi Martyr. à quo fidei catholicæ lumine illustrati tanto pietatis zelo huic Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi adheserunt, ut a Donaldo, qui primus ex Scotiæ Regibus Christi fidem professus est, omnes subinde Scotorum Reges majores tui usque ad Mariam laudatissimæ

[1] A tradition unsupported by historical evidence. See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

memoriæ Reginam matrem tuam semper cum summis Pontificibus prædecessoribus nostris ambulaverint in domo Domini cum consensu. Ipsum igitur idem amplissimum, nobilissimumque Britanniæ Regnum post luctuosam, nobisque semper lugendam eius aversionem ad Domini caulam reducere cupientes, studemus omni genere officii aperire illi antiquam charitatis viam. Hac de causa cum fecerimus potestatem discedendi ab Urbe dilecto filio Joanni Maillaneo nobili Lotharingio, nostro ab intimo cubiculo, nobisque ob ejus pietatem modestiam atque fidei integritatem valde caro, qui mandato dilecti filii nobilis viri Caroli Ducis Lotharingiæ venturus erat ad te, dedimus ei in mandatis, omne studium. ac diligentiam adhiberet, ut nostrum in te paternum amorem Majestati tuæ omnino patefaceret. Ob id cum maxime cuperemus consolari filios nostros Catholicos Regni tui Anglicani, vellemusque ut eos tibi diligentissime nostro nomine commendaret, stricte ei præcepimus, mandavimusque, ne alicui ex Catholicis nostrum hoc officium apud te detegeret. Volumus namque quantum in nobis est, subjectos tibi populos in his, quæ divino honori non officiunt, magis obtemperantes, obedientesque Imperio tuo semper addere; et cum nihil sit, quod magis sibi voluntates hominum conciliet, quam Principis beneficentia, propterea cupimus, ut Catholici totum hoc beneficium benignitati tuæ in eos acceptum ferant. Licet enim nobis, desideratissime fili, cum Apostolo Paulo dicere, non vestra quærimus, sed vos. Gregis Dominici curam gerimus, nec ullius alterius vi, quam salutis ovicularum Jesu Christi satagimus. Prædecessores nostri, qui ab Ecclesiæ principio pastorale hoc ministerium exercuerunt, cum dispersas oviculas congregarent, numquam probarunt audaciam eorum, qui more sicariorum Principes suos violare ausi sunt. Quare nos quoque Sanctorum Patrium vestigiis insistentes, ab ejusmodi facinoribus filios nostros semper quantum in nobis erit, efficacissime deterrebimus, præsertim vero Catholicos Anglicanos hoc tempore, quo in divina misericordia confisi, magnam concepimus spem alicujus felicis eventus.

Novimus egregiam Majestatis tuæ prudentiam, qua necessario intelligis, quantam referat religionis cultus ad Regni robur et firmamentum, et te versatissimum est in omni disciplinarum genere scimus. Quare facile in eam opinionem adducimur, ut in tanta istic diversitate sententiarum de his, quæ ad religionem pertinent, velis aliquando diligenter indogare ipsam veritatem. In qua re libentius tibi nostram atque nostrorum Theologorum operam offerimus, quo magis intellectus tui perspicaciam admirabilem esse audimus. Denique quidquid efficere possumus, quod utile, jucundum, et honestum Majestati tuæ sit, id tibi præstare desideramus. Sed ut redeamus, quo digressi sumus, benevolentiam erga te singularem profitemur, tibique cuncta fausta feliciaque cum divinæ gratiæ accessione ex animo optamus, Deum Patrem misericordiarum indesinenter precantes, ut lumine claritatis suæ mentem tuam illustret, teque in viam veritatis ad æternam felicitatem dirigat. Cæterum cum omni cordis affectu commendamus tibi dilectos filios nostros Catholicos, petimusque etiam atque etiam a te, ut indulgentia benignitatis tuæ liceat ipsis ab adversariorum insectationibus quiescere, et in tranquillitate cordis cum simplicitate Altissimo servire. Nos vero nunquam cessabimus eos monere, et efficaciter hortari, ut obsequio et obedientia curent quotidie magis tuam sibi demereri gratiam atque facilitatem.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, sub annulo Piscatoris. V. Idus Julii, MDCVI. Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

XIII. (p. 425).

Memorandum of Paul V. on the subject of the proposed Marriage of Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta Maria, Sister to Philip IV. of Spain.

(*Cod. Borghes.*, iv. 143, *cart.* 45, *Autograph of Paul IV.*[1])

Commendare infinitamente la pietà di Sua Maestà in non

[1] Superscribed on the back, in the Pope's handwriting: "Del parentado di Inghilterra con Spagna. Contra i parenti d'Inghilterra."

haver riguardo ad altro in resolutione di negotio si grave che al solo servitio di Sua Maestà e della nr̃a Santa Religione.

Che il vero consiglio *per se*, et deliberatione gia Sua Maestà l'ha presa da se stessa un dar exempio a tutti i Principi Cattolici non havendo voluto dar orecchio a questo trattato senza accertarsi prima della conversione del principe, et havendo fatto dire al Re d'Inghilterra, che non potria dare sua figlia a principe che non fosse cattolico.

Che Sua Santità non può dir altro che pregare vivamente Sua Maestà et esortarla a voler continuare di caminare in questo negotio con la medesima resolutione, cioè di veder prima ben stabilita et effettuata la sua conversione. Senza la quale non potria Sua Santità se non improvare et detestare grandemente questo accasamento; siccome ha procurato con matura deliberatione, et fatto ogni offitio con lettere, mezzo de' Nuntii et diverse persone mandate a posta per divertire molti Principi da questo proposito, come per gratia di Dio è riuscito.

Per molte ragioni:

La prohibitione de' sacri Canoni et Consilii;

Il scandalo che si dà ai Cattolici;

L'animo che ne pigliariano gli heretici con gran danno della Religione Cattolica;

Il pericolo della sovversione, quale sarà facile in una giovane di tenera età, con la compagnia del marito, et con la continua consuetudine di heretici, massine in certi punti sottili che si contengono nel giuramento del Re d'Inghilterra, i quali a chi non è informato non par che tocchino i dogmi della fede.[1]

Li figli che nasceranno senza dubio s'allevariano nell' heresie, di che possono venire tanti inconvenienti, che questo solo doveria spaventare ogni P(rincipe) Cattolico da simili pensiero;

S'allargheria il commercio degli heretici nelli paesi de' Cattolici, il quale non si può esprimere il danno che recaria, et con parentare il commercio s'allargaria fra loro.

[1] A marginal note here: "i servitori cattolici si licentiano."

In Inghilterra è lecito il ripudio, et se succedesse questo caso, che miserabile accidente saria.

Il mal' esempio che si daria ad altri Paesi Cattolici di parentare con heretici, che produrrà pessime conseguenze.

Nel stato in che si trovano hoggi le cose d'Inghilterra, et delle male qualità di quel Re non se ne può sperare niente di bene, et però è necessario d'assicursari bene con il stabilimento et effettuatione della conversione.

Che la Serenissima infanta con la sua casa viva alla Cattolica non esclude la sovversione, et l' inconveniente della prole; et dal' udir messa privatamente non resulta benefitio di consideratione ai Cattolici et alla conversione del Regno, come si vede per quello che si fa di nascosto in case delli Ambasciadori.

Il permettere tacitamente la libertà di coscienza releva poco o niente:

1°. Perchè non si esclude il pericolo della sovversione e della mala educatione della prole;

2°. Perchè non si ha dal Re; et quando fosse vero,

3°. Perchè il Re non veneria a concederla espressamente, et saria sempre in suo potere, o di non osservarla, o di dichiarare che cosa habbia voluto intendere per questa permissione tacita, et se la tacita havesse la med^ma^ forza che la espressa, non si saria restretto alla tacita; e qui se vede che son si camina bene, ma con inganno;

4°. Questo solo titolo di libertà di conscienza giovaria poco ai Cattolici se non havessero il libero esercitio del culto divino, dell' uso di tutti i Sacramenti, messe, prediche, processioni, et tutte l'altre funtioni ecclesiastiche et quante chiese volessero per exercitare in esse queste funtioni.

Trattandosi del parentado di Savoja, di che Sua Maestà fece parlare, gli fu data da noi la negativa; et il Duca di Lerma disse che Sua Maestà mai haveria data sua figlia al Principe d'Inghilterra, se prima non si fosse fatto Cattolico.

XIV. (p. 426).

Letter from Gregory XV. to Charles Prince of Wales, April 20, 1623.

(*Cod. Vatic. Ottob.*, 570, *fol.* 121.[1])

Nobilissimo Walliæ Principi, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Filio Gregorius Papa XV. Nobilissime Princeps, Salutem et lumen divinæ gratiæ. Britannia, illustrium virorum ac virtutum ferax, cum utrumque terrarum orbem nominis sui gloria implet, Pontificias etiam cogitationes sæpissime ad suarum laudum spectaculum evocat. Illam enim in ipsis nascentis Ecclesiæ cunabulis tanto studio Rex regum seligere voluit hæreditatem sibi, ut illuc non fere prius Romanorum aquilæ quam Crucis vexilla penetrasse dicantur: porro autem non pauci ejus Reges scientiam salutis edocti, exterisque nationibus, ac consequentibus ætatibus præbentes Christianæ pietatis exempla Crucem sceptro, et religionis disciplinam dominationis cupiditati prætulerant; itaque cum in cœlo promeruerint Principatus beatitudinis sempiternæ, consecuti sunt in terris triumphalia sanctitatis ornamenta. Hoc autem tempore quo Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ status immutatus est, humanis tamen virtutibus Anglicanam Regiam ornari, atque communiri perspicimus, quæ charitatis nostræ solatia, et Christiani nominis decora forent, si ea haberi possent orthodoxæ veritatis præsidia. Quare quo nos Serenissimi parentis gloria, et Regii ingenii tui indoles magis oblectat, eo ardentius cupimus vobis cœlestis Regni fores patefieri, atque universæ ecclesiæ amorem conciliari.

Tum cum sanctissimæ memoriæ Pontifex Gregorius Magnus Angliæ populis Regibusque Evangelicas leges et Apostolicae auctoritatis cultum intulerit, Nos, ut sanctimonia ac virtute longe inferiores, ita nominis similitudine, atque dignitatis fastigio pares, beatissima ejus vestigia sequi par est in istarum Provinciarum salute curanda, præsertim cum hoc tempore ad

[1] Tierney (*Dodd's Hist.*, vol v. p. 130) gives a translation of this letter.

alicujus non vulgaris felicitatis Nos erigat consilium tuum, Nobilissime Princeps.

Quare cum in Hispanias ad Catholicum Regem te contuleris Austriaci conjugii cupidum, desiderium hoc tuum laudare apprime voluimus, tum etiam luculenter in præsenti rerum opportunitate testari, te ad præcipuas Pontificatus nostri curas pertinere. Cum enim Catholicam virginem matrimonio tibi iungere studeas, facile conjicere possumus vetera illa Christianæ pietatis semina, quæ in Regum Britannorum animis adeo fœliciter floruerunt, in visceribus tuis Deo incrementum dante revirescere posse. Neque enim eiusmodi nuptias amaret, quem teneret Catholicæ Religionis odium, et Romanæ Sedis oppressio delectaret. Proinde Nos accuratissimis precibus assidue orari jussimus Patrem luminum, ut te, Christiani Orbis florem, et magnæ Britanniæ spem in eius hæreditatis possessionem perducat, quam tibi clarissimam majores tui pepererunt, Pontificia authoritate tuenda, et hæresum portentis profligandis.

Memento dierum antiquorum, interroga patres tuos, et dicent tibi, qua petatur cœlum via, quod iter mortales Principes insistentes ad sempiterna Regna progrediantur. Intuere patefactis cœli foribus sanctissimos illos Angliæ reges, qui Romam Angelis comitantibus profecti dominantium Dominum, et Apostolorum Principem in Apostolica sede coluerunt. Eorum facta atque exempla Dei loquentes voces sunt, quæ te hortantur, ut eorum instituta secteris, in quorum Imperium pervenies. Fierine poterit, ut tu ab hæreticis eos patiaris impietatis condemnari, et in sempiterni horroris carcerem detrudi, quos in Cœlo cum Christo regnare, cunctisque terrarum Principatibus præesse Catholicæ Ecclesiæ fides testatur? Ii nunc e beata illa patria tibi manum porrigunt, qui sospitem te ad Catholici Regis aulam perduxerunt, atque ad Romanæ Ecclesiæ gremium reducere cupiunt. Ea vero gemitibus in enarrabilibus Deum clementiæ pro tua salute venerans brachia Pontificiæ charitatis protendit, te desideratissimum filium amantissime complexura, tibique beatam cœlestis Regni spem ostentans. Certe Chris-

tianæ Reipublicæ nationibus nullum tribuere solatium majus potes, quam si Principem Apostolorum, cuius authoritas Regnorum propugnaculum, et divinitatis oraculum in Britanniæ Regia tamdiu habita est, in tuæ nobilissimæ Insulæ possessionem reduxeris. Quod quidem haud difficulter continget, si cor tuum, quo Regni illius prosperitas continetur, pulsanti Domino patefacies. Tanta charitate Regalis nominis laudibus favemus, ut te in Orbe terrarum una cum Serenissimo parente Britanniæ liberatorem, restitutoremque avitæ religionis nuncupari cupiamus. Quod certe desperare nolumus freti Deo, in cuius manibus corda Regum sunt, et qui sanabiles fecit nationes Orbis terrarum, quem tibi omni qua possumus industria conciliare semper conabimur. Tu vero in his literis Pontificiæ charitatis sollicitudinem agnosce fœlicitatem tuam curantis: quas certe numquam non exarasse pœnitebit si eorum lectio aliquos saltem Catholicæ Religionis igniculos excitabit in corde tanti Principis, quem diuturna lætitia perfrui, et virtutem omnium gloria florere cupimus.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, die vigesima Aprilis 1623. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

JOANNES CIAMPOLUS, *Secretarius.*

XV. (p. 428).

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF DR BISHOP, BISHOP OF CHALCEDON AND VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, RELATIVE TO THE PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, DECEMBER 28, 1623.

(*Cod. Vatic. Ottob.*, 579, *fol.* 147.)

Ex literis Episcopi Chalcedonensis ex Anglia, 28 Decem. 1623 (stilo novo).

Circa trigesimum Novembris diem de multis, quæ eo tempore apud nos gerebantur, te certiorem feci, quæ quidem spem optimam dabant, sed necesse est ut nunc significem magnum

factum videri rerum mutationem. Nam M^ti^ suæ visum est, qua de causa ignoro, in Hispaniam unum alterumque nuntium mittere, ut aut revocetur aut impediatur illud Procurationis mandatum, quod in Comitis Digbei manibus relictum Hispaniarum Regi tradi debuit, ad matrimonium Principis nostri, Caroli nomine, cum sorore sequenti die contrahendum, quæ revocatio, aut impedimentum, non potuit non vehementer Regem Catholicum ejusque consiliarios turbare, que illud jam ante vulgarerant, magnaque et extraordinaria paraverant ad illius negotii confectionem. Excusandi nos causa hic dicimus, merito istud factum, quia principem nostrum, dum in Hispania esset, sæpe dilatationibus suis deluserunt, nec Catholicus Rex de Palatinatus restitutione velit se obligare. Respondent, hanc de Palatinatu negotiationem nunquam fuisse Articulis comprehensam, et cum eam de repente intrudamus, jam signum esse et argumentum quod primis conventis stare minime cogitemus. Ad hæc: Palatinatum in ipsorum potestate et manu non esse, ideo nec si velint eum restituere posse, promisisse tamen omnem operam, studiumque adhibituros ut restituatur; quod constanter adhuc promittunt; se non posse, ut articulis comprehendatur; istud adlaboraturos, ut ex consequenti fiat. Quod vero ad matrimonii dilationem attinet, dum esset in Hispania noster Princeps, respondent se paratos fuisse accepta dispensatione ad negotium illico conficiendum, sed distulisse donec a Rege nostro Catholicis in Anglia implerentur gratiæ quæ in Pontificis dispensatione petebantur: quo tempore cum diem obiiset Sua Sanctitas, Apostolicus nuntius ad dispensationem ante tradendam induci non potuit quam quæ esset novi pontificis hac de re voluntas sciretur; nec antea matrimonium perficere voluerunt Hispani, quam suis in manibus haberent dispensationem; quod malam in partem accepit noster Princeps, asserens sufficere quod jam esse perlatam dispensationem scirent, atque hæ sunt ipsorum rationes, quantum ego intelligere possum. Sed multi suspicantur, Buckinghamiæ Ducem Regis nostri gratiosum ob aliquas cum

Comite Olivario Hispaniæ Regis gratioso animi alienati causas Regem nostrum sollicitâsse ad celerem filii reditum urgendum, ipsi persuadendo quod antequam infecto matrimonio paterentur Hispani nostrum principem abire, non dilaturos negotium prætextu confirmandæ ab alio Pontifice dispensationis. Quod tamen aliter accidit. Et post ipsorum huc appulsum dicitur gratiosus omnia conatum esse cum apud Regem tum principem, ut tractatus de hoc matrimonio rumperetur, tandemque id obtinuisse. Hæcque communior hominum opinio; quamvis plerique putant, aliqua ratione reconciliatum iri principes, et negotium conficiendum; quia ex ratione status utrique Regi tam commoda et necessaria videtur ista affinitas. Buckinghamius, et Hayus, cum Franciæ Oratore, ut multi conjecturam faciunt, de matrimonio in Gallia pro principe nostro diu et multum egerant. Sed de ea re nihil certe constat. Nulla demum est nova persecutio, sed præcedentis pacis constans fruitio.

XVI. (p. 430).

DESPATCH FROM THE CARDINAL-SECRETARY BARBERINI[1] TO THE NUNCIO IN PARIS, RESPECTING THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCE CHARLES TO HENRIETTA MARIA OF FRANCE, OCT. 2, 1624.

(*Archiv. Vatic., Nuntiatura di Franci*, vol. lix.)

A Monsr l' Arcivescovo di Damietta, Nuntio in Francia.

(Messo in cifra li 2 Ottobre 1624.)

(La lunga Cifra.)

Giunto che fù il Signor Ambasciadore à piedi di Sua Santità diede una lettera della Regina Madre in raccomandatione di Tours, e soggiunse di ben sapere, che questa era per

[1] Francesco Barberini was a nephew of Urban VIII. Archbishop Spada, the nuncio, was raised to the purple while in Paris.—See Cardella, *Memorie*, tom. vi. pp. 238, 253.

ceremonia, essendo molto ben informata Sua Maestà di quello che passava in proposito di nominatione al Cardinalato. Replicò Sua Beatitudine con parole di molte stima a questo ufficio, e senza impegnarsi alla total esclusione di Tours, disse, chè credeva di haver à sodisfar alla Regina Madre sempre, che gratificherà il Rè suo figlio.

Dopo entrarono à dire, Sua Eccellenza, e 'l Padre Berullo, che il Rè, e 'l Principe Inglese prometterebbono per iscrittura tutto quello, che in sustanza contiene l'agiunto foglio, che è copia precisa della scrittura, che diederò à Sua Beatitudine. E quanto al giuramento, che si vorebbe da' Cattolici, disse l'Ambasciadore che non si exigerebbe alcun giuramento da' Cattolici. Replicò il Papa, excluderanno quel di questo Rè, ma non intenderanno per excluso quel, che si usava al tempo della Regina Elisabetta, che finalmente è poco differente, onde giudicava Sua Beatitudine per ischifar questo scoglio, che 'l Re, e 'l Principe si obligassero, di non costringer mai ad alcun giuramento i Cattolici, overo in caso, che havessero à darlo in qualsivoglia tempo, non vi possino esser costretti in altra maniera, che in quella, che quì prescriverà la Congregatione, in evento che per altro gli piacesse questo temperamento.

Quanto alla *Chiesa publica*, essi proposero il negotio come insuperabile, rispetto all' ottenerla, e Nostro Signore riserbandoli à far vedere al Padre Berul questo, et altri vantaggi per la Religione Cattolica ottenuti dagli Spagnuoli, tirò avanti il discorso circa il frequentar la Cappella privata di Madama, e volendo Sua Beatitudine che à chiunque paresse, di andar con Sua Allezza per intervenir con essa à divini uffizi nella detta Capella, fusse lecito, di ciò fare. Soggiunsero l'Ambasciadore e Berullo, che da questo poteva nascer alcun tumulto, e che vi era temperamento di sodisfarsi con dichiarar, che tutti quelli, che havesse chiamato Madama, potessero intervenir, servendola à divini uffizi. Nò, disse il Papa, perchè questo articolo potrebbe eludersi con l'angustia del luogo, et à Cattolici di poca conditione. Chiaro è, che mancherebbe un tanto bene, imperochè al sicuro non sarebbano [sic] essi

chiamati da Sua Altezza, et à pochissimi de' grandi ancora toccherebbe questo; oltre che in ciò verrebe esposta Madama à manifesto pericolo di disgusti col Rè, e col Principe, i quali secondo le loro passioni si lasceranno intender, che ella chiami più uno, che un' altro, ò almeno questo sarebbe un farla partiale tra' Cattolici stessi, e un renderla loro sospetta, e diffidente, in vece di benevola protettrice.

Disse all' hora l'Ambasciadore, chè né questa, né altre difficultà havea proposto Vostra Signoria anzi che Monsù d'Arbó scrivea, haver udito dalla propria bocca di lei che il negotio era à segno da contentar Sua Beatitudine. Al che replicò la Santità Sua, chè dalle lettere di Vostra Signoria si raccoglieva tutto 'l contrario, mostrando ella, di haver sempre fatto contrasto à tutto quello, che le era stato participato à svantaggio della Religione, e degli Articoli stabiliti con Spagna, da Luson da Rocchefucault, da Sciombergh, dal Guardasilli, dallo stesso Arbò, e da Vieville quando era in gratia di Sua Maestà. Ma che quando pure Vostra Signoria si fusse avanzata in alcuna parola, non poteva nuocere alla trattazine che quì si fà. Noi vegiamo bene dalla serie di tutte le Cifre di Vostra Signoria in questo affare, che ella non hà trascorso in simile errore, mà tanto più è necessario, che l'usi avvedimento, quanto che i Ministri del Rè mettono a capitale quel, che ella mai non disse, anzi troviamo nella Cifra d. 14 d'Agosto, che al Cardinale di Rocchefucault ella havea risposto, non haver commissione, ne istrutione da entrar in questo negotio et ultimamente à Luson sopra l'Articolo matrimoniale, che egli le lesse, havea replicato, che un bell' apparato si risolveva in parlar generico, e mancava d'un punto molto importante, com' è quello della Chiesa publica, stabilito favorevolmente per noi nel trattato di Spagna. In fine disse Sua Beatitudine che havrebbe veduti gli Articoli, presentatigli da Berul, e che allo stesso havrebbe aperto le difficultà incontratesi col paragone delle scritture di Spagna, offerendosi la Santità Sua, che se fussebisognato, havrebbe fatto adunar la Congregatione avanti di sè. In esecutione del qual appuntamento per quello, che

riguarda gli Articoli, Sua Beatitudine fece richiamar Berul il lunedi e prima d'ogni cosa gli disse, non trovar nelle lettere di Vostra Signoria cosa veruna, ch' habbia potuto dar' ad intender ad Arbó, che ella consentisse alle cose imbastite costi di questo Matrimonio, sè già detto Arbó non havesse preso in assenso, quando ella gli disse, che era gran fortuna del secol nostro l'haver numero di Theologi, che si conformassero à gli appetiti particolari di ciascuno, poichè altre parole non v'erano in tutte le sue lettere, che di oppugnatione, e di difficultà, e queste erano state dette, per modestamente riprovare la propositione d'Arbó di non chieder la dispensa. All' hora Berul cavò fuori una lettera, che à lui scrive Luson, il qual dice d'haver udito lo stesso da Arbó. Ma ciò serva d'avviso a Vostra Signoria perchè si è detto all' Ambasciadore et à Berul, che à lei si scriverà, nè io le ricordo, che questa contesa, portata innanzi, e in dietro con asprezza, potrebbe cagionar qualche diffidenza verso di lei, perche so, che per se stessa ella il conosce, e si diporterà prudentemente tanto più, che ella non ha bisogno, di giustificarsi con esso noi, e sopra tutto non dica, che Berul habbia mostrato la lettera o portato parole di Luson, e mostri ancora di non saper, che il Papa habbia detto, di voler tener avanti di se la Congregatione, ma se à lei sarà detto di questa offerta, mostri, di crederla appena, esagerando la benignità di Nostro Signore verso la Francia.

Torno al paragone degli Articoli, e dico, che in quattro cose principalmente mostrò Nostro Signore che havrebbe urtato il negotio. Nel non concedersi la Chiesa, l'elettione delle nutrici, l'educatione de' figli, caso che per avventura avanti de' tredici anni venisse à morir la Madre, che Dio ne guardi, e nel giuramento che dovea fare ciascun de' Consiglieri Inglesi per l'osservanza del Capitolato. La Chiesa fù conceduta publica, non solamente in Londra, ma per tutto dove di mano in mano fusse andata l'Infanta con espressione di molte particolarita, e tra le altre del cemiterio; e l'andarvi era permesso a tutti i Cattolici per connivenza, promessa dal Principe di Gales, e ratificata, dal Rè suo Padre. L'elettione

delle nutrici dovea liberamente toccare all' Infanta, li figlioli restar appresso di lei, ò appresso de' Ministri da lei deputati, ò in difetto dell' uno, e dell' altro caso, appresso di quelli, che deputarebbe il Rè Cattolico. Il giuramento de' Consiglieri hebbe il suo effetto. A tutto questo replicò Berul, sarà impossibile l'ottenerlo, e quando il Rè, e 'l Principe lo promessero, questo era come prigione degli Spagnuoli, e voleva scappare. Replicò il Papa, avvertite, che quando fù data fuori la Dispensa, il Principe era uscito di Spagna, il Rè havea promesso l'osservanza di tutto 'l Capitolato, e gli Ambasciadori ordinario, e straordinario Inglesi, non vi fecero difficultà di momento, e così, benchè il trattato sia stato fatto, mentre il Principe era in Spagna, la conchiusione è seguita dopo la sua partita. All' hora replicò Berul, poteva prometter quel, che voleva, imperochè con un pretesto, ò con l'altro era risoluto, di nó osservare. Tornó a dir il Papa, chi assicura la Francia, che non vi sieno questi medescini pensieri, soprastando un nuovo Parlamento in Inghilterra per Novembre prossimo, e soggiunse: Non sapete, Padre, che pendente il trattato con Francia, il Rè Inglese hà tentato, di haver pel Principe la figlia di Sassonia, e questo gli ha risposto, non voler darla ad un Calvinista. Si strinsé il Berul nelle spalle. Il Papa disse, che queste erano le difficultà maggiori, ma che altre medesimamente ne scuopriva il paralello tra gli Articoli Spagnuoli, e quei, venuti di Francia, però che andasse apparecchiandosi per superarle in Congregatione perche Sua Beatitudine in riguardo della sodisfatione del Rè, e per troncar ogni sovverchio allungamento, havea voluto usar questo agelovezza, di palesar prima le più gravi.

Reiterò Sua Santità l'offerta, di surrogar due Cardinali, e di aggiungerne un' altro ancora confidenti a' Franzesi, purchè fussero Italiani neutrali, e non interessati nella protestatione di Francia. Cosi finirono questi due Congressi, il primo dell' Ambasciadore e di Berni: il secundo di Berul solo sopra l'affare del matrimonio.

XVII. (p. 433).

Queen Henrietta Maria on the Catholic Persecution in England, 1641.

(*Bibl. Barberini, Carte Sciolte.*)

All' On. cousin Monsieur le Cardinal Barberini:[1]

Mon cousin, le gran zele qui . . . la violance avec quoy le parlement a commencé contre les catoliques a obligé le Roy Monseigneur a leur accorder la demande qu'ils ont faite de banir les catoliques a dix milles de Londre, ils commansent à faire une rigourouse recherche contre tous les prestres, et menasent de mestre toutes les loix les plus sévères en exécution contre eux, qui vont jusques au sang: et moy mesme suis menassée de avoir mon contract de mariage rompu: et particulièrement en a qui est des prestres: et la misere est que les affaires du Roy Monseigneur ne lui permettent pas de s'oposer a toutte sette violance à quoi il a bien paru depuis son avenemant à la couronne que son naturel n'a pas esté poste; car au contraire il soufre maintenant pour sa bonté envers seux de nře religion: j'ay songé à un moyen et le seul qui ce tamps s'y permet pour prevenir une grande partie de ses violances, qui est pour employer de l'argent pour gagner les principaux de sette faction puritaine, et je croys avoir tellemant disposé mon deseing qu'il ne me manquera que l'argent pour en venir about. Les desorderes de se peis s'y randent impossible de trouver ysy une telle somme d'argent qu'il faudroit à cause de l'esclat que sa la feroit, ce qui pouroit aussy frustrer le sucses: s'est pour quoy j'ay cru. . . . Mon cousin, vře bien affetionné cousine,

Henriette Marie R.

Il n'y a personne que sa Sainteté, vous et moy, qui sache sesy encore.

[1] On the margin is the following: "Dei mezzi capaci a migliorare lo stato de Cattolici in Inghilterra, esposti dalla Regina al d° Card^le e non comunicati ad altri. Questa lettera è autografa, pervenuta al Card^e Barberini con lett^re di Mons. Nuntio in Francia, di Gennaro, 1641.

XVIII. (p. 436).

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE NUNCIO AT PARIS TO MGR BISHOP, VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, JULY 13, 1623.

(*Archiv. Vatic., Nuntiatura di Francia,* vol. lxiii. p. 388.)

Di Parigi, 13. Luglio, 1623.

A Monsignor Bisopo, Vescovo Calcedonense.

Etsi profisiscens in Angliam, gregem Domini curaturus, nullum debeas a me ex tua prudentia consilium expectare, attamen ut tuæ obsequar modestiæ, ac desiderio, qua possis Sanctitati Suæ in instituenda vivendi ratione [satisfacere], aperiam libentissime. Totus igitur in eo primum sis, ut illuc secreto et tuto appellas, ne forte in ipso ingressu qui tibi aversantur, qui universæ Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ sunt aversi, structis insidiis te in vincula detrudant, et ut ipsius Regis voluntatem exploratam habeas, ne si parum huic faveret incepto, te persequeretur, vel ne, si æquum se præbere cuperet hæreticorum instigationibus super re, quam simulare nequeat, impediretur. Mox, cum qualis sit regni, religionisque status, sive tranquillus, sive adhuc offensionibus novatorum turbulentus dignoveris, potissima et præcipua cura sit in restituenda ecclesiastica disciplina, atque informandis omnium Catholicorum moribus, non solum ad pietatem, cultum ac venerationem erga Deum, verum etiam ad mutuum inter se amorem, et benevolentiam, ad modestiam pacemque tuendam, ad præstandum denique debitum obsequium et obedientiam regi ipsi, et magistratibus, ut facile intelligant quantum inter Catholicos hæreticosque distet, non iis modo quæ ad religionem et virtutem, evitandaque vitia pertinent, verum etiam in honorem suo regi deferendo, eoque digne recolendo. Profecto qui ad unum invisibile caput, nempe Christum, unumque visibilem Summum Pontificem eius in terris Vicarium omnia referunt in Ecclesia, non possunt in

civili quoque politia monarchiam non cupere, amare, tueri. Illud igitur, tam Laicis, quam Clericis sedulo iniungas censeo, ut Deo summis precibus sacrificium sæpissime offerant pro incolumitate Regis, utque illum in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, et Romanæ gremium quantocius revocet: quidni hoc speremus de Rege mirifice ad virtutem exculto atque ingenti eruditione, et multiplici litteraturæ genere prædito! At nec minori debes conatu niti, ut quamplurimos docendo, admonendo, rogando, sed præcipue sancte, pieque vivendo ab erroribus hæreticorum abstrahas.

Difficilis provincia est, et plena periculo, sed quæ summopere Deo placeat, quæque de tota Republica christiana, deque Sancta Sede Apostolica te faciet bene meritissimum. Quod si arcano Dei consilio incidas denuo in eas, quas olim perpessus es calamitates, et ærumnas, o te beatum, si patienter illas, summaque in Christo Jesu confidentia iterato sustinueris. Cave igitur ne quid aliud dicto, factoque hostes offendantur tuo, sit in asserendis fidei dogmatibus, confitendaque Catholica Religione cum necessitas ingruerit, firma, atque alacris constantia. Sit tamen coram judicibus moderatio, et placiditas, ne suæ crudelitati tuam obtendant culpam, præterquam quod Catholicum hominem vel maxime decet mansuetudo. Verum hæc omnia divina sua misericordia arcebit Deus, qui, ut videtur, magis, ac magis in dies Jacobo Summo regi meliorem afflat mentem.

Quod vero ad tuorum Ecclesiasticorum regimen attinet, illud vehementer præcavere debes, ne inter sæculares, regularesque Sacerdotes aliquæ oriantur turbæ, altercationes, simultates: quam id, bone Deus, vestris obstaret inceptis? quam noceret Ecclesiæ? quam Summo Pontifici disdiceret? Itane, qui a nobis pacem, concordiam, charitatem, mutuamque benevolentiam discere deberent, rixas, malevolentiam, odia, calumnias, inimicitias inter nos grassari arguent? absit omnino, neve id eveniat, totis viribus, nervisque contende; facillime perfeceris, si Viris Religione devotis, ac præcipue Patribus *Societatis Jesu* benevolum te ostendes, nullaque in

re illorum privilegia perfregeris. Munus laboribus partum tuis, atque a Sede Apostolica obtentum non solum nullibi, vel ne paululum quidem imminuas, sed serio defendas, atque tuearis. Secus si feceris, contra Summi Pontificis mentem, factum scias; quinimo quando vel de communi bono, vel de aliquo summi momenti negocio consultandum erit, laudem meritus fueris, si præcipuos ex illis adhibueris. Te namque exhortor, ut ex insignioribus Angliæ clericis, imo et ex regularibus ipsis, si velis, aliquos à Consiliis habeas, quibuscum ea, quæ tibi videbuntur, communices, eorumque utaris opera. Sane Regularibus præcepit Sanctissimus ut tibi debitum large exhibeant obsequium, dictoque tuo cum eorum indigueris ministerio, præsto sint: quapropter nihil Santitati Suæ gratius accedet, quam si illorum animos ita comitate devinxeris, ut invicem mutuis certetis officiis. Verum quoniam modo ecclesiasticam restituere disciplinam, restitutamque conservare queas, tute ipse per te probe nosti, e doctorum responsis, Conciliorum decretis, Pontificum rescriptis, et Constitutionibus, ac demum ex ipsis sacris Canonibus, Romanisque ritibus norma tibi sumenda. Ac si quæ sunt de Romano Pontifice, deque Sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate opiniones perperam susceptæ, ex omnium animis funditus sunt evellendæ, ipsique Romano Pontifici, Sedique Apostolicæ, benevoli obsequentesque reddendi, siquidem Sedes Apostolica Romanique Pontifices nihil antiquius habent, quam Angliæ incolumitatem, ejus Regum prosperitatem, quam Summo veroque Deo ipsi Reges accepto referentes, illum catholice pieque colant, restituaturque regnum illud nobilissimum in antiquum suum, cum virtutis tum potentiæ splendorem. Quam in rem plurimum ut conferre possis, Suo te ipsemet Deus favore fulciat et muniat, felixque ac tutum iter præstet. Vale.

Datum Parisiis, Idibus Julii, annu à partu Virginis, 1623.

XIX. (p. 439).

A Contemporary Estimate of the Character of James VI.[1]

(*Cod. Barberin.*, xxxiv. 13, *fol.* 188.)

The king, you must know, is a man by nature very timid, one who has always, from his earliest years, been eager to rule, and accustomed to dispose and to change his ideas and actions according to the will and the counsels of whoever he perceives or thinks will further his interests and wishes, or the reverse. In other words, he is in the habit of trimming his sails according as the wind blows from a favourable or unfavourable quarter, and of regarding everything, including conscience, religion, friendship, good faith, ties of kindred, the life and death of his children and his nobility, and the appointment of his magistrates and councillors, from one sole point of view—namely, as to how they are likely to affect the security and stability of his present position. Hence it is that, without being heart and soul devoted to any one religious sect, he is ready to embrace and profess whatever opinions he finds to be held by the most numerous, powerful, and wealthy of his subjects. Thus, although, whilst in Scotland, he had been imbued, under the guidance of that most mendacious romancer and poet, Buchanan, with the errors of the Calvinists, yet afterwards, when he had succeeded to the sovereignty of England, abandoning his former heresy, he began to adhere to the tenets of the English Protestants, and fortified by his authority their discipline and form of belief, which had been brought in by the apostasy of Henry VIII., and strengthened by the efforts of Queen Eliza-

[1] "Narratio de Statu Religionis apud Scotos, et de rationibus fidei Catholicæ in Magna Britannia restituendæ.—De Rege." The document, in which mention is made of the impending journey of the king to Scotland, belongs to the year 1615. The original is in Latin.

beth. Accordingly, the Puritans or Calvinists were censured and condemned, in the second year of his reign over England, at a public convention held in London, at which the heads of both sects were present; and with the same view he has very often contemplated a journey to Scotland—and, in fact, is at present thinking of actually carrying it out, since all preparations for the expedition have now been made in both countries—in order to compel his Scottish subjects, the most pertinacious and pernicious of all heretics that ever lived, to conform to the Anglican sect. It is from the same motive that he leaves no stone unturned to root out the Catholic faith, and puts every possible obstruction in the way of any increase among those professing it; for he has drunk in from the statesmen and heretics who surround him the opinion, or rather the firm conviction, that his title to the throne and the prolongation of his reign would be in the greatest jeopardy, were the Supreme Pontiff to be restored to his former rights over the Church, and, as it were, to a share in the government of the realm, the king being deprived of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction—that is, of half the powers he now enjoys; and this, he believes, would certainly follow, if he suffers the Catholics to grow and increase in numbers. It must be said, moreover, that the man is endowed to a great, and, indeed, an extraordinary degree, with the faculty or vice of dissimulation: he cares not a straw for violating a promise, or even a solemn oath, and deems it the highest and most perfect wisdom to impose both on his intimates and on strangers by lying and feigned sincerity. His turn of mind is naturally crafty and apt for deception—a method he willingly employs when he cannot gain his end by force. By disposition he is pusillanimous and unwarlike, and prone to the vice which is the natural consequence of cowardice and timidity—I mean, a thirst for cruelty and tyranny, which he exercises in odious fashion towards the Catholics, as well as towards those whom he has once injured, and who, he fears, will remember their wrongs: of these, he has either exterminated

their whole stock, or else reduced them to such a condition as there is no hope of their ever recovering from. He is immoderately given to wine; and, not unfrequently, when warmed with some favourite and generous vintage, he is in the habit of exhaling and vomiting forth every sort of vile execration against mankind, against the Pope, religious orders, and the Catholic Church, and likewise the foulest blasphemies against God and the saints. Nor does he make an end until he is overpowered by the fumes of wine, and so carried to bed by his immediate attendants.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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